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THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD

AN HISTORICAL SERIES

IN
THIRTY VOLUMES

VOLUME TWENTY-THREE

GERMANY

KING WILLIAM I.

Germany, Frontispiece.

GERMANY

BY

S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER OF RECENT EVENTS

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ILLUSTRATED

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GERMANY

Frontispiece—King William I
Nuremberg
Cologne
King William II

GERMANY, PRESENT AND PAST.

CHAPTER I.

THE UPPER NOBILITY.

"There are but two families in the world, as my grandmother used to say the Haves and the Havenots, and she always stuck to the former."—*Don Quixote.*

"Herr Baron! Thank you," said a waiter to a traveller, on receiving payment of the bill.

"I am not a baron, *mein lieber!*" remarked the latter.

"Oh, sir! we call every one Baron who tips with a ha'penny," answered the Kellner, contemptuously pocketing the five-pfennig piece.

An Englishman is somewhat impatient to find barons abroad as thick as blackberries, and looking equally ragged. He is not a little amazed to find he has offended his tailor by not addressing him as "Well-born," and startled to hear that a daughter of one of our oldest and noblest families is not deemed well-born enough to mate with a lack-land German prince, whose ancestors a hundred and fifty years ago were gentlemen about court, and nothing more. A tradesman is "well-born," but the daughter of an Anglo-Norman house, who marries the sixth son of Prince Potztausend, is doomed to bear her maiden name, and know that out of England the union is regarded as morganatic, and her children as illegitimate.

Germans, like Frenchmen, are quite incapable of understanding English aristocratic distinctions. I have known a lady refuse to allow her daughter to dance with sons of some of our first county families, and heirs to baronetcies, because they bore no "von" before their surnames, and therefore could be no gentlemen. In a drama of one of the best German playwrights, laid in England, an "esquir" (*sic*) is addressed as "milord," an earl's wife is entitled "Lady Harriot," and the eldest son of a peer is Sir Jones, Baronet. Englishmen too often speak with contempt of the German nobility, because titles are common and the majority of the bearers of them have no estates. As a fact the majority of nobles without estates have flowing in their veins the bluest blood in Germany, whereas some of the princes, who can only mate with royalty, are mere *parvenus.* The stratification of the German classes, and of the aristocracy, is most peculiar, and quite unlike what we meet with in England. It is absolutely inexplicable without an historic sketch of its growth and alteration.

When the mist clears off early German history, we find the inhabitants of the land divided into two strongly marked classes, the Free and the Not-Free.

The not-free class constituted most certainly a conquered people, distinct in blood from the Germans who subjugated them. The conquered race remained bound to the soil, and were denied the right of bearing arms, and pleading in a court. They were like the Rayas in Turkey. They were neither "wehrfähig" nor "rechtsfähig." The serf tilled the soil, the freeman held jurisdiction over it, and fought in its defence. Between the classes hovered a swarm of Lazzi or Freilazzi (*i.e.* Frei-gelassene), men emancipated from serfdom, that they might become "wehrfähig," capable of wielding a sword, and fight for their lords. But it took three descents to convert a Lazzus into a Freeman.

One sharp law kept the classes apart as castes—this was the law of "Ebenbürtigkeit," which forbade a freeman marrying below his class. If he did so, both he and his children ceased to be free, and were numbered among serfs. The freewoman who married a serf became herself a serf. This gave occasion to a common speculation in the early Middle Ages, which had to be checked by law. Nobles sent their serfs out into the world to pretend to be freemen, and so to pick up free wives. Then the lord asserted his prerogative, and the deluded wife found herself suddenly degraded. Among the Saxons the serf who acted thus was punished with death. The object of the law of "Ebenbürtigkeit" was to keep Teutonic blood pure from various and villein strains.

Salic law, and the law of the Ripuarian Franks, knew nothing of a nobility. Only two birth ranks were recognised—the free and the not-free. Nobility and freedom were equivalent ideas. All free-born were "ebenbürtig."

But though in the Frank empire there was no privileged class among freemen, there were personal privileges enjoyed by a favoured few. These were the men who stood in close relation to the king, and acted as his officers in the administration of justice. These officers were noble, in so far that they were raised above their fellow-freemen, but this ministerial nobility lacked the essential element of aristocracy—it was personal, not hereditary. These officers, whether temporal or spiritual, held their nobility for life only. Such were the bishops, chief abbots, dukes and counts, the royal butler, sewer, forester, and marshal. The great bulk of freemen lived on their estates, and let them out to free or servile farmers. As enjoying freeholds, they were entitled Freiherren—free lords—or Barons. *Bar* is an old German word meaning *a man*, that is a man of substance, exercising all the rights of a freeman.[1] The holder of an allodial estate was an adeliger, a gentleman. If he lost his estate he ceased to be an adeliger, but not to be a freeman. But I am not now going to speak of the landed gentry who constituted the lower nobility, but of the royal officers who have formed themselves into a superior caste.

The Empire under the Carlovingians was this. The whole country was parcelled into shires. A shire (*gau*) usually took its name from the river that flowed through it, or from the conspicuous object in it; as a frontier it was called a *mark*. Over every "gau" and "mark" was a count—"graf." Over the royal stable was a Stallgraff (constable or marshal). Over the crown land, a steward called Pfalzgraf or Count Palatine, held rule. The Grenzgrafen or Markgrafen (margraves) kept the frontiers against Sclavonic barbarians. The Burgraves held the royal castles; Woodgraves, Saltgraves, Dykegraves, Millgraves, and Hansgraves, saw after Imperial rights in later times in forests and salt mines; looked to the condition of the mills, canals, and the trade of the

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[1] Lex Alleman. c. 76, "barum aut fœminam," man or woman. It is no doubt from the same root as *vir* in Latin.

Hanseatic towns. There was even a Spielgraf, with jurisdiction over the tumblers, jugglers, minstrels and clowns of the royal household.

A Graf was a minister of the king, and on his death his office and title were given by the crown to another favourite. The title is derived from *gerefa*, judex, exactor fiscalis; and it retains in England some of its old significance as applied to the sheriff of the county (scire-gerefa) and the portreve (port-gerefa). Among the ancient Germans a duke—"Herzog"—was the general in command in time of war, and with the cessation of war his office and title expired. Dukes, however, soon retained their titles, and remained as permanent centres round whom the country could be mobilised. When, as with the Alamanni and the Bavarians, they ruled over distinct races, the rank of duke became hereditary in a family, and with the break-up of the empire the dukes became independent. It was by crushing the dukes that the Carlovingian monarchy was founded. Under Charles the Great there were none; but with the fall of the Empire they reappeared, the holders of several counties and possessors of large estates. Conrad I. endeavoured to reduce them. Henry I. issued from their midst, and thenceforth their position was recognised. There were dukes in Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Austria, Swabia, and Lorraine. The kings used their utmost endeavours to bring the duchies into their own families. The Bavarian alone maintained its independence and integrity till the thirteenth century, when it fell a prey to division. At the same time the Sclavonic princes assumed the ducal title, fresh duchies were created, and the ducal office became titular, nothing more.

But to return to the Counts. The office of count was, as already said, given for life only. But as, on the death of a count, the transfer of the office to another family caused jealousy and discontent, it was soon found advisable to make these offices hereditary. With the office went very generally crown lands given in feof. These were also continued now in a family, and became hereditary like the office, by tail male. Even in the last days of the Frank monarchy there was no hereditary nobility in Germany, other than that of the Freiherren; but the germ of a court aristocracy was laid, which from generation to generation received from the crown great benefices, and appropriated the most lucrative offices in the realm. This "Beamten" aristocracy was, no doubt, in part recruited from the landed gentry, the Free-lords seated on their allodial estates, but far more from the flunkies of court favour, emancipated serfs, and all the rabble who hang about a court.

As soon as these benefices and offices became hereditary, the division between the nobility and the gentry was completed. Every crown officer had originally represented the sovereign in his "gau" or "mark," and acted for the king as source of justice in it, responsible to none save the king. Thus he became "immediate" (*unmittelbar*). All other freemen, however large their estates, were "mediate" (*mittelbar*), subject to the jurisdiction of the crown, acting through the count. It was natural that the families of these imperial officers should hold their heads high above the ordinary landed gentry, over whom they, in the name of the king, exercised authority. "Beamten" insolence has been the bane of Germany in all ages. When the offices became hereditary, the dignity which was at one time personal passed imperceptibly to the family, and thus arose the conception of a noble race towering above the simple Freiherren living on their estates and with pedigrees purer and more ancient than those of these minions, or soldiers of fortune, who lorded it over them and disdained to associate with them in marriage. But in the eye of the law, for a long while, there were still but two classes—freemen and serfs. The nobles were the first only among their equals, *primi inter pares*, nothing more. The Sachsen-Spiegel, drawn up about 1215, classes all together: "princes, barons, and ordinary freemen are alike in fine and wehrgeld." And though, in documents of the twelfth century, the same person is termed indiscriminately *princeps*, *nobilis*, and *liber*, the great feudal vassals of the crown persisted in distinguishing themselves as princes, and cutting themselves off from the true landed nobility on the soil.

The Schwaben-Spiegel, drawn up a century later than the Sachsen-Spiegel, shows us how successful they had been. In it the freemen are divided into three distinct classes, the Semper freien—the great vassals holding "immediately" from the crown; the Mittel freien—the gentry living on their freeholds, or serving in the courts of the great vassals; and the Landsassen, the yeomen, farming their own small properties, or renting those of landlords.

But the surest token of a cleavage of ranks is found in the lack of "Ebenbürtigkeit." Now, whereas the Sachsen-Spiegel makes all freemen, from the yeoman to the duke, ebenbürtig—able, that is, to contract marriages with each other's families, without loss of rank—the Schwaben-Spiegel makes an union between a Semper frei and a Mittel frei so great a mésalliance, that it disqualifies the children from inheriting their father's rank and dignities. Step by step an hereditary nobility had established itself among the officers of the crown, enjoying special immunities and sovereign dignities. It was no longer a class of freemen devoting itself to serve the crown, but a close corporation of princes (Fürsten), whose members, whether high up or low down, could intermarry, but who could not unite with those who were "mediate." The title of Prince (Princeps, Fürst) had, till the close of the twelfth century, no technical signification, but was applied to rulers generally, that is, to all who bore authority. It was only at the end of the twelfth century that the Imperial Chancery gave it a special signification, and made it applicable only to those exercising direct control over their lordships—to Dukes, Margraves, Counts Palatine, and such counts as remained invested with "immunitas," as those of Tyrol and Henneberg, and to bishops, abbots and abbesses, who also enjoyed this prerogative, as the Provost of Berchtesgaden, and the Abbess of Gandersheim.

When the duchies of Swabia, Franconia, and Elsass fell into abeyance through the extinction of the Hohenstaufen, the small barons, or lords of manors, were left pretty much their own masters, and they took advantage of the occasion to assert, and, where possible, to establish their sovereignty over their petty estates. The Emperors experienced so much opposition from their great vassals, that they favoured these small landholders, who always held by the Imperial crown in its contest with the Electors. At the close of the fourteenth century there were organised confederacies of the knightly lords of manors in Swabia, Franconia, and on the Rhine, and in 1422 the Emperor Sigismund took them under his protection and confirmed them in their immunity. They also were "immediate." But the princes would not allow them to be "ebenbürtig" with themselves, for the Free-imperial-knights were sovereign on their *own* estates; whereas the princes were so on estates held in feof from the Emperor, and exercised their jurisdiction over other families who were "mittelbar. [illegible] real reason was, however, that there were too many of them.

The Free Knights of the Rhine formed themselves in 1527 into the cantons of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Rhine. Following this example, in 1543, the Swabian knights organised themselves into five cantons.

In England the Crown was sufficiently strong to prevent the great vassals from breaking loose from the constitution. In France, the duchies of Normandy, Brittany, Guienne, and Burgundy, the counties of Toulouse, Champagne, Flanders, etc., established their independence under the last feeble Carlovingians. But the Crown of France had the good fortune to be able to gather them in, one after another, under its sovereignty, so that only a few—as Bouillon, Doubes, Orange, Avignon, and Venaissin—were able to maintain themselves to a late period in partial independence. Finally, the hand of Richelieu, under Louis XIII., reduced them all to subjection. But it was different in Germany; the Crown there was much more truly elective than in England and France, where it was so in theory rather than in fact. In Germany it passed from the Frank to the Saxon, to the Bavarian, the Swabian, and the Austrian houses. Elections were disputed, and rival candidates maintained brief authority. The princes, electors, and great vassals became all-powerful, and the supremacy of the Emperor existed more in name than in reality.

The princes—that is, the great feudal vassals—had their own code of laws, the Fürstenrecht; and by means of that established themselves as a class apart from all others, as the highest stratum of the social lump. In the Volksrechte of the several German races, the principle prevailed that "the child should follow the inferior hand;" that, for instance, in a marriage between free men and serfs, the child should be servile. But this principle was not intended to go further. The Fürstenrecht gave it another character altogether, by making it applicable to the intercourse of princes with the gentry and bürgers. Gentry and bürgers were free men; but the princes began to treat them as the free men had treated the serfs—to forbid intermarriage with them. The Volksrechte established the law to keep Teutonic blood from intermixture. The Fürstenrecht used it for the purpose of glorifying the class of crown vassals at the expense of others.

Nothing of the sort existed elsewhere. In France no law of the sort was known. The Princes of Vendôme, Verneuil, Vermandois, Maine, Penthièvre, etc., were legitimatised, not because they sprang from the union of a sovereign with a woman of another class, but because they were the children of mistresses. Among the noble families the children proved their blood by their father's pedigree. It is the same in England. James II. married the daughter of Chancellor Hyde, and their daughters Mary and Anne came to the throne. This could not have been in Germany. Mary and Anne would have been esteemed illegitimate. As English peers were not "immediate," exercising legal jurisdiction within their counties and duchies, the German high nobility never have acknowledged, and do not at the present day acknowledge, them as their equals in birth. Marriage was allowed with only six French families, which, although not enjoying sovereign rights, were yet related to reigning families, or were descended from houses once sovereign. These were the houses of Lorraine, Savoy, Grimaldi (princes of Monaco), Rohan, Trémouille, and La Tour d'Auvergne (Dukes of Bouillon).

The title of Fürst or Prince belonged to the holder of a feof under the crown, who exercised immediate jurisdiction in his principality. Consequently landgraves, margraves, counts palatine, burggraves, as well as dukes, were princes. So also were all such counts as had acquired independence in troublous times, and had wrung from the emperors acknowledgment of it, even though they did not acquire a right to sit in the Imperial Diet.

When a count who was a prince died, he left, we will say, six sons. Then the estates of the family, and, after a time, the crown feofs, were divided equally among them all; but one son only, or at the utmost two, remained responsible for the feudal lands to the crown, and this one son inherited the title of prince, whereas his brothers did not. They remained counts, calling themselves after the estates they inherited, but were not princely counts.

Beside the princes, temporal and spiritual, were the free imperial cities. In these the council (*Rath*) exercised "immediate" jurisdiction, and delegates from these free cities sat with the princely electors in the Diet. In 1512, under the Emperor Maximilian, the Diet (*Reichstag*) was a body of three ranks, or classes—the electors, the princes, and the free cities. The electors alone had a voice in the nomination of the Emperor. At this date the Diet was composed of about a thousand "immediate" princely powers, secular and ecclesiastical. Of the latter there were seventy-four.

In the course of the next three hundred years a great number of illustrious princely and countly houses died out; as, for instance, the dukes of Pomerania, of Juliers-Cleves-Berg, of Saxe-Lauenburg, the margraves of Anspach and Baireuth, the princely counts of Henneberg, and the counts of Mansfeld, Gleichen, Hanau, Schaumburg, Diepholz, etc. But the Emperors set to work recruiting the ranks, in a manner not creditable to themselves. Already, at the end of the fifteenth century, they had begun issuing patents to their favourites conferring on them the titles and prerogatives of princes. The very first to receive such a diploma was the Count of Croy, an ancient house in the Netherlands. In 1486 it was made princely. But it was not till late, in 1803, that it was admitted to a place in the Diet. The Arembergs, who obtained title and seat in 1583, sat next to the dukes of Würtemberg, and older families by far, such as those of Orange and Hohenzollern, took very subordinate places. After the Thirty Years' war new princes were created by the dozen—as the Liechtensteins, the Diedrichsteins, the Auerspergs, and the Esterhazys. Many of these families were of no antiquity or were insignificant; they received their princely coronets as rewards for conversion from Protestantism. A needy Italian, Count della Torre del Tasso, came to the court of Frederick III. and was made chief forester. He then organised a postal service, and his grandson, in 1500, was created postmaster-general; and this office and the farming of the post-office were made hereditary in the family. The post-office was a great success, and made the fortune of the masters. Torre del Tasso became, in German, Thurn und Taxis; in 1605, Leonard von Taxis was made a baron, and in 1621 his son was created a count. He established a riding post between Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. The income brought in by the post amounted to a million of florins annually. In 1686 the house was made princely, but did not gain a place in the college of princes of the empire till 1754. Though thus made to rank with sovereigns, they never possessed "immediate" jurisdiction. The Auerspergs, Liechtensteins, Esterhazys, and Trautmanndorfs were made princes as a reward for abandoning Protestantism. I have said that, when a prince had several sons, the estates were divided among them, but that one only retained the title and dignity of prince. This was the case till the end of the Thirty Years' war, when every petty count could obtain from the Emperor recognition of the independency which was virtually his.

A table of the branchings of the family of Nassau will show how one small countly house could become a nursery of princes. (See next page.)

After the fashion of the Emperor, each Elector constituted his court, with sewers, butlers, foresters, and marshals, chosen from among the landed gentry of his province. And just as in the Empire such officers were made hereditary, so was it in the provinces. A Prince Palatine held his court with as great splendour as the Emperor; and the best families in the Palatinate ministered to the Elector as to their king. The present house of Schönborn is descended from a Rhineland family in which was the hereditary office of butler to the Archbishop of Mainz. The Metternichs were hereditary chancellors to the Archbishop of Cologne. The Stadions, sewers to the see of Augsburg. The Wurmbrands, cooks to the counts of Styria. The Count von der Lippe held the basin, and Count Bentheim poured the rose-water, at table, over the fingers of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel.[1]

The law of "Ebenbürtigkeit" has been already spoken of. We shall see now its working in the families of the princes.

According to this law, a prince, or a count of the Empire, if he married beneath him, even with a daughter of one of the old noble families of the land which was "mediate," could not leave his titles and office to his children by her. The children followed their mother, bore her name, and were, in the eye of the law, illegitimate.

The Elector Frederic of the Palatinate, in 1462, married Clara Detten, an Augsburg damsel, lady-in-waiting and singer at the court in Munich. His son by her, Ludwig, was, at his request, made Count of Löwenstein by the Emperor Maximilian, and is the ancestor of the princely house of that name in Würtemberg, which can now only mate with sovereign houses. It was in vain that Frederic tried to obtain recognition of his bürger wife, and of his

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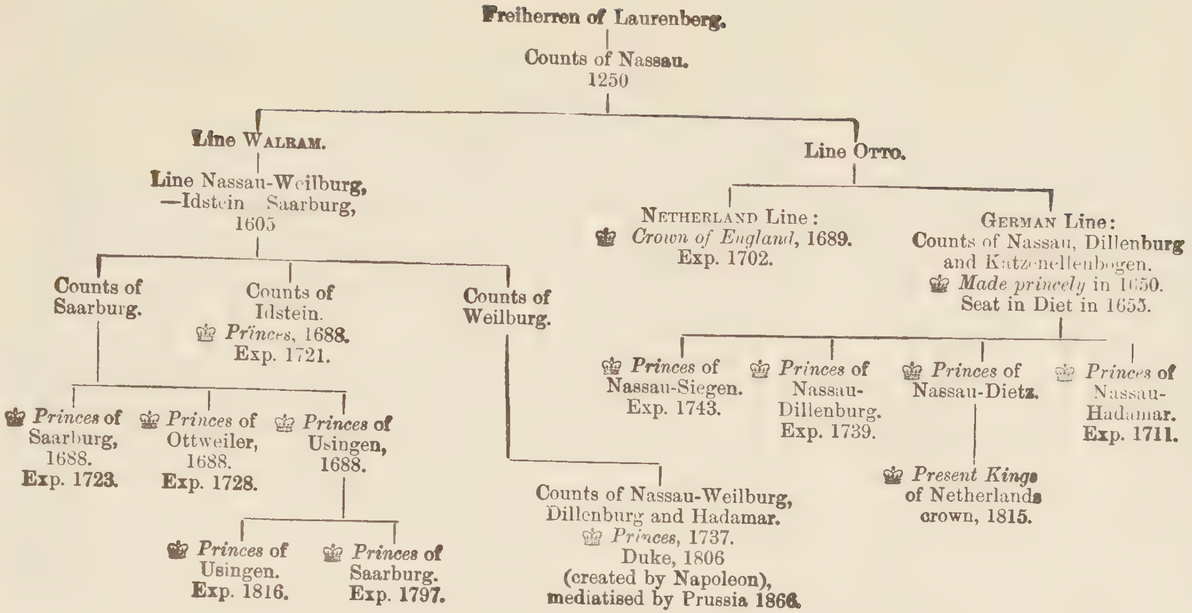
[1] All these families are now princely, and can only mate morganatically into our great houses.



- **Freiherren of Laurenberg.**
  - Counts of **Nassau.** 1250
    - **Line** W**ALRAM.**
      - **Line** Nassau-W**eilburg, —Idst**ein Saarburg, 1605
        - **Counts of Saarburg.**
          - ♔ ***Princes* of** Saarburg, 1688. **Exp. 1723.**
          - ♔ *Princes* of Ottweiler, 1688. **Exp. 1728.**
          - ♔ ***Princes* of** Usingen, 1688.
            - ♔ *Princes* of Usingen. **Exp.** 1816.
            - ♔ ***Princes* of** Saarburg. **Exp. 1797.**
        - Counts of Idstein. ♔ *Princes*, 1688. Exp. 1721.
        - **Counts of Weilburg.**
          - Counts of Nassau-Weilburg, Dillenburg **and Hadamar.** ♔ *Princes*, 1737. Duke, 1806 **(created by Napoleon), mediatised by Prussia 1866.**
    - **Line** O**TTO.**
      - N**ETHERLAND** Line: ♔ *Crown of England*, **1689. Exp.** 1702.
      - G**ERMAN** Line: **Counts** of Nassau, Dillen**burg** and Katzenellenbogen. ♔ *Made princely* in 1650. Seat in Diet in 1655.
        - ♔ ***Princes*** of **Nassau-Siegen.** Exp. 1743.
        - ♔ *Princes* of Nassau-Dillenburg. Exp. 1739.
        - ♔ *Princes* of Nassau-Diet**z.**
          - ♔ *Present Kings* of Netherlands **crown, 1815.**
        - ♔ *Princes* **of** Nassau-Hadamar. **Exp. 1711.**

son as his legitimate heir. Ludwig was obliged to content himself with the county of Löwenstein bought for him.

The Archduke Ferdinand of Austria married the beautiful Philippina Welser, a member of one of the wealthiest citizen families in Augsburg. The Emperor created her Margravine of Burgau, and Ferdinand's sons took their mother's title. Succession to the Austrian dukedom or any of their father's titles was not possible.

One house in Germany has been conspicuous for its mésalliances. This is the house of Anhalt-Dessau. We will look at its history and see the curious consequences of this law of "Ebenbürtigkeit."

Leopold I., "the old Dessauer," insisted on marrying Anna-Louise Föhse, daughter of an apothecary, in spite of his mother's remonstrances. To save the house from extinction, the Emperor, in 1701, raised Anna-Louise to the rank of Princess of the Empire, so as to legitimatise her children. She left four sons; the eldest of these, Gustavus, did not succeed his father, for he died before him. Gustavus married, also below his rank, a brewer's daughter, and by her left six sons. But though the Emperor ennobled them and made them counts, they were not allowed to succeed "the old Dessauer," and consequently Leopold's second son followed him on the princely throne. Prince George of Dessau married Theresa von Erdmannsdorf, daughter of a Prussian chief forester, and left by her three sons. His brother William married Emilie Clausnitzer, daughter of a music-master, in 1841. The pastor who married them was fined 1,000 thalers. Their children had to be ennobled, but were never regarded as capable of succeeding to the principality. John Günther, Prince of Schwarzburg, left four sons. The two eldest died without issue. The third married below his rank, and though he had sons, on the death of John Günther the youngest brother succeeded. The nephews were treated as illegitimate. Charles Frederick of Anhalt-Bernburg, who died in 1721, married the daughter of the Imperial Chancellor Nüssler; but, though the Emperor created her Countess of Ballenstädt, her sons could not obtain recognition as heirs presumptive. The Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha passed over the heads of the sons of Duke Christian Ernst (*d.* 1745) to their uncle, because the Duke had married "unebenbürtig."

Duke Rudolf Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg, after the death of his first wife, loved Elizabeth Rosina Meuthe, daughter of a barber of Minden. "You shall not be my left-handed, but my right-handed wife," said the prince to her as they were married at Hedwigsburg in July, 1681. They lived together happily for twenty years, but without their having any children. Had she borne him a son, the child would not have been recognised by the Estates, in spite of the Duke giving its mother his right hand.

Princess Augusta Amelia of Nassau married the Prince of Hesse-Homburg in 1804, and was divorced from him next year. In 1807 she married Herr Friedrich Wilhelm von Bismark, her brother's adjutant. To help him up into something like equality with her, the King of Würtemberg made him count. In 1848 the princess died, and then the count married her chambermaid, Amalie Thibaut. If his first marriage had been "unstandesmässig," so was his second, now that he was a count, and the Würtemberg government refused to acknowledge his children by the second wife—he had none by the first—as legitimate. Consequently his title has gone to his nephew. The case is the more curious as the Graf was not made "ebenbürtig" with princes, and therefore does not come under the law that affects their marriages.[1]

The result of the Thirty Years' war was not exactly the survival of the Fittest, but of the Biggest. The lower nobility had been greatly exhausted; whole families had been swept away. How readily this extinction was likely to occur among a class, the sons of which were born to war, may be judged from a few examples. In 1278, in the battle of Marchfeld, there were fourteen Trautmannsdorfs left dead. In that of Mühldorf, in 1322, twenty-three of the same family rode with Frederic of Austria against Louis the Bavarian, and of these twenty fell. Three only escaped to continue the line. In the Seven Years' war, one family, that of von Wedel, lost fifty-three of its members on the battle-field. The immunities of the Free-imperial-knights were jeopardised. The number of those who claimed them was greatly reduced. The power of the Free cities was broken, and the ecclesiastical estates were a prey to the first appropriator. The Rhenish palatinate was, moreover, gone. The ancient Empire existed merely in name; the supremacy of the Emperor, and with it the unity of the body of the State, sank to a mere shadow. Every member of the Empire exercised the right of proclaiming war, of concluding peace, and of contracting treaties with every European power, the Emperor alone excluded. Each of the princes possessed almost unlimited authority over his subjects, whilst the Emperor retained only some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The princes were further strengthened by the secularisation of a multitude of ecclesiastical principalities and estates. The Elector of Brandenburg appropriated to himself the Bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, Camin, and the reversion of Magdeburg. Oldenburg laid hold of the Bishopric of Lübeck. The Bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg fell to the grasp of Mecklenburg. The Elector of Hanover obtained alternately with a Catholic prelate the diocese of Osnabrück. Hesse-Cassel appropriated the lands of the Abbey of Hirschfeld. But the most curious instance of growth of a principality by means of confiscation was that of Waldeck. Francis, Bishop of Münster, was a baron of Waldeck,[1] with a castle in forestland, and a few acres of estate about it. He embraced Lutheranism, and took as his mistress a certain Anna Polman; by her he had three natural sons, who took as their arms a half star, in place of the whole star of the pure-blooded Waldecks. The Waldecks used their zeal for the Gospel to greatly extend their material prosperity, by appropriating to themselves all the lands of the Church on which they could lay their hands. The town of Arolsen by this means came to Waldeck, and the whole county was made Lutheran compulsorily in 1542, whilst Münster was restored to Catholicism by the bishop as the price of getting assistance from the Emperor in reducing the Anabaptists who had wrested it from him. The Waldecks were not "immediate," but held Pyrmont in feof to the diocese of Paderborn, and for their county of Waldeck they were vassals of Hesse-Cassel. It was not till 1782 that this house, which had amassed wealth by plunder, obtained recognition as princely, on the coronation of Charles VI., but even then it was not allowed a seat on the bench of princes in the Imperial Council.

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[1] A glance at the *Almanach de Gotha* will show that at present there are several morganatic marriages in German sovereign and princely families. The children of all these unions are illegitimate. They cannot take the father's princely rank and title.

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[1] In 1262, "nobilis vir Adolphus de Waldegge;" in 1327, "dominus de Waldecke."

In the period of Napoleon's greatness, the main object of the German princes was the salvation of their own sovereignties, at whose expense mattered little.

It is difficult to conceive an attitude more humiliating than that assumed by the princes at this time. Instead of rallying round Austria in heroic opposition to Napoleon, they cringed at his feet. On March 28, 1806, in defiance of the Constitution, von Dalberg, the Chancellor, named Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, as his coadjutor and successor in the see of Mainz, which was to become a secular principality in the family of Napoleon. Thereupon sixteen German princes formally decreed their separation from the Empire.

By the Peace of Presburg, the year before, the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg had been accorded the title of king. In gratitude for this favour they led the servile troop, and were followed by the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt and the Princes of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salm, Isenburg, etc.

On August 1, 1806, the French ambassador, Bacher, declared that his Emperor no longer recognised Germany as an empire; and on August 6, Francis II. laid down the crown of Charlemagne. Thereupon Napoleon rewarded Dalberg by creating him Prince-Premier. Of old, at the coronation of a German Emperor, the herald had proclaimed, "Where is a Dalberg?" and with the sword Joyeuse the newly-crowned Emperor had knighted one of that family. It had for centuries been an hereditary prerogative of the family of Dalberg to be the first to receive honour of the sovereign. In 1806, the first to lift his heel against his Emperor was a Dalberg. The Elector of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse, for their subserviency, and Joachim Murat, Duke of Berg, were raised to grand dukes, with royal rights and privileges. The Prince of Nassau-Usingen became a duke, and the Count von der Leyen was made a prince. The French Emperor proclaimed himself patron of the Bund.

By decision of the Rhenish Confederacy, Nürnberg lost its independence and fell to Bavaria; Frankfurt became the seat of the Prince-Primate; Heitersheim, which had belonged to the German knights, was annexed to Baden; Friedberg fell to Hesse-Darmstadt. But at the same time a number of princes and counts who had been made, or had made themselves, independent, or "immediate," were "mediatised," *i.e.* made subjects. Such were the Princes of Nassau-Orange-Fulda, of Hohenlohe, Schwarzenberg, Löwenstein, Leiningen, Thurn und Taxis, Salm-Reifferscheid-Krautheim, Neuwied, Wied-Runkel, Dettingen, Fugger, Metternich, Truchsess, Fürstenberg, Solms, the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, the Dukes of Croy and Looz-Corswarem, many countly, and all the remaining baronial families, which boasted their "unmittelbarkeit," or "immediateness."

One remained, overlooked, when the map was rearranged. The Liechtensteins were in the sixteenth century marshals to the dukes of Carinthia, and therefore "ministrales" of the house of Hapsburg. Originally an old Moravian family of Herren von Liechtenstein, they were created princes in 1621, during the Thirty Years' war, and as none of the family estates in Austria were "immediate," they bought the little county of Vaduz, among the rocks under the Sessaplana, on the upper Rhine, over which they could exercise sovereign jurisdiction. When the Rheinbund recast the map of Germany, this little territory was by oversight left unmediatised, and to this day it remains an independent principality of not nine thousand inhabitants, scattered over three geographical square miles.

On September 25, 1806, the Elector Bishop of Würzburg joined the Rheinbund, and was rewarded for his submission with the title of grand duke. The Elector of Saxony then stole in, and was repaid with the royal crown (December 11, 1806). It was now a race who could get in and get something. The Saxon dukes followed; then the two Princes of Reuss. The Dukes of Mecklenburg came next. Somewhat sulkily Oldenburg stole under cover. By decree of December 10, 1810, Napoleon annexed to France the Duchy of Mecklenburg, a large portion of Westphalia, and Berg. The Duke of Aremberg lost half his lands to France and half to Berg. The Princes of Salm also saw their territories incorporated into France. The two Dukes of Mecklenburg, who had been almost the last to join the Bund, were the first to leave it (1813) and join Prussia and Russia against Napoleon. They were followed by the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Two hesitated—the King of Saxony and the Grand Duke of Frankfurt. The former lost thereby half his land, the latter all. The same fate attended the French intruders, the

King of Westphalia, and the Duke of Berg. The Duke of Aremberg and the Princes of Isenburg and von und zu der Leyen and Salm, who had been spared by the Rheinbund, were mediatised by the Congress of Vienna. Forty-five princes, of whom three were dukes and forty-one counts, also lost their independence, and were forced to bow under the rule of their more favoured or fortunate neighbours. Lippe had been saved from mediatisation by the sagacity of the Princess Pauline, who sent the Empress Josephine a dress embroidered with blue jays' feathers, and so bought her intercession with Napoleon. Mediatisation was somewhat arbitrary. Prince Fürstenberg became the subject of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, whose territory was not more extended, nor his ancestry more illustrious. But Fürstenberg was forced to pass under Hohenzollern, and not Hohenzollern under Fürstenberg, because the descendant of another branch of Hohenzollern sat on the throne of Prussia. In 1849, Prussia mediatised Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and appropriated the principalities, to supply her with a convenient foothold in the midst of Würtemberg. Mediatisation was nowhere opposed except at Mergetheim, where the bauers refused to give oath of allegiance to the King of Würtemberg till released by their old lord, the Archduke Anthony of Austria. Frederick of Würtemberg marched dragoons among them and hung and shot the objectors. The marriage of provinces to kingdoms has its honeymoon not on union, but long after.

In vain did the mediatised princes protest and appeal to Austria. Austria was powerless to help them.[1]

By the Act of the Rheinbund certain rights had been reserved to them.

1. They were to be regarded as "ebenbürtig" with reigning families—*i.e.* able to contract marriages with sovereign houses.

2. They were to form the highest aristocracy in the land into which their principalities were absorbed, and to have a position in the House of Peers. Confirmed in 1815.

3. They were to be exempted from taxation.

4. They were to be allowed to exercise magisterial rights on their estates. This privilege was withdrawn in 1848.

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[1] They were said to be *mediatised* because before they were *immediate* governors of their territories, "reichs-unmittelbare Fürsten."

5. They were "to bear the titles they had borne before mediatisation, with omission only of all dignities and predicates expressive of their former relation to the Empire, or to their position as former sovereigns of the land." Yet the head of one of these families is allowed to be called "the reigning prince," and to use the *pluralis majestaticus.* By degree of the German Confederation, August 18, 1825, and March 12, 1829, confirmed June 12, 1845, the mediatised princes and dukes are to be addressed as "durchlaucht" (your serene highness), and the mediatised counts as "erlaucht" (your highness).

6. They might be attended by a body-guard of not exceeding thirty men.

The mediatised princes lost all sources of revenue which were derived from sovereignty, but retained all that were derived from property.

Since 1806 the mediatised princes, called in German Standesherren, enjoy the greatest privileges in Prussia. In the Prussian monarchy there are seventeen; they sit in the Chamber of Lords. In Silesia, Saxony, and the Lausitz, there are twenty-eight more "Standesherren," of which the most illustrious is the House of Stolberg.[1] There are other princely and countly families in Prussia, but as they were not independent (*unmittelbar*) before the Rheinbund Act, they cannot intermarry with royal families, or even with the families of the mediatised nobles. Such are the princely houses of Blücher of Wahlstadt, Hatzfeld-Trachenberg, Hatzfeld-Wildenberg, Lichnowsky, Lynar, Pless, Putbus-Wrede. Absurd as it may seem, it is yet true, no doubt, that a prince of Salm can only marry a princess Blücher morganatically.

In the Austrian monarchy are many houses formerly "immediate," but whose estates there were never "immediate." That is to say, houses which were immediate—say in Swabia—had lands over which they had no sovereign jurisdiction in Austria. Their lands out of Austria they have perhaps lost or sold, but they remain sovereign houses mediatised, retaining only estates over which they never had independent authority. In 1825 the Emperor of Austria followed the example of the Rheinbund, and mediatised all these, giving them the predicate of "durchlaucht" (serene highness), and "durchlaucht hochgeborner Fürst (serene highborn prince). Of these there are forty-seven.[1] In Bavaria, by decree of December 31, 1806, the mediatised princes, counts, and barons were deprived of all independent jurisdiction, but were given many great privileges and a seat in the first house. By decree of 1817, the ducal house of Leuchtenberg has precedence over all the other "Standesherren," numbering in all twenty-three.[2]

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[1] Aremberg-Croy, Rheina-Wolbeck, Bentheim-Rheda, Bentheim-Bentheim, Salm-Horstmar, Salm-Salm, Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Hohensolms, Wrede, Thurn und Taxis, Walmoden-Gimborn, the barons of Boyneburg, Grote, von Stein, the counts of Isenburg-Philippseich, Isenburg-Büdingen, Erbach-Fürstenau, Erbach-Erbach, Erbach-Schönberg &c.

In Würtemberg there are thirty-five "Standesherren;" their position was secured by royal proclamation December 8, 1821. Of these thirty-four sit in the House of Peers.[3] The Prince of Metternich, who used to be peer in Würtemberg for the principalities of Ochsenhausen and Winneburg, sold them to the Crown, and thus ceased to have a seat on the bench.

In Hanover there are three peers,[4] in Baden eight,[5] in Kur-Hesse are four,[1] in the Grand Duchy nineteen;[2] in Nassau are five,[3] in Oldenburg only the Count of Bentinck.

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[1] Fourteen (Auersperg, Colloredo-Mansfeld, Diedrichstein, Esterhazy, Kaunitz-Rietberg, Klevenhüller, Lobkowitz, Metternich, Rosenberg, Schwarzenberg, Schönborn, Starkemberg, Trautmannsdorf, and Windischgrätz) are in the Austrian monarchy, thirty-three are outside of it.

[2] Esterhazy of Galentha, Fugger-Babenhausen, Fugger-Glött, Fugger-Kirchheim, Fugger-Neuendorf, Fugger-Kirchberg, Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Leiningen, Löwenstein-Freudenberg in both branches, Löwenstein-Rosenberg, Dettingen-Dettingen, Dettingen-Wallerstein, Schwarzenberg, Thurn u. Taxis, Castell in two branches, Erbach, Giech, Orttenburg, Rechteren-Limpurg, Schönborn-Wiesentheid, and Stadion.

[3] Dietrichstein, Fürstenberg, Hohenlohe-Bartenstein-Jaxtberg, Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst, Hohenlohe-Oehringen, Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, Hohenlohe-Bartenstein, Hohenlohe-Langenburg, Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenburg, with its two branches, Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg, Oettingen-Oettingen, Oettingen-Wallerstein, Salm-Reifferscheidt-Krautheim, Schwarzenberg, Solms-Braunfels, Thurn u. Taxis, Waldburg-Waldsee, Waldburg-Trauchburg, Waldburg-Wurzach, Windischgrätz, Erdödy, Isenburg-Meerholz, Königsegg-Aulendorf, Limburg, Quadt, Rechberg u. Rothenlöwen, Roth-Wartenberg, Schäsberg, Stadion, Sternberg, Törring u. Tengling, Waldbott-Bassenheim, and Waldeck.

[4] Aremberg, Bentheim-Bentheim, Rheina-Wolbeck.

[5] Fürstenberg, Leiningen-Hardenburg-Dachsburg, Leiningen-Billigheim, Leiningen-Nundenau, von und zu der Leyen, Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, Löwenstein-Wertheim, Rosenberg, Salm, Krautheim.

A good number of the German princes, reigning and mediatised, derive from the old feudal vassals of the Crown. The Grand Duke of Baden, for instance, descends from the Counts of Zähringen and Ortenau, and they are clearly traceable to a count placed over the Breisgau, a "ministerialis" of the Emperor—an ennobled charcoal-burner, according to tradition. So also the Princes of Anhalt derived from a gau-graf of Northern Swabia, and the King of Prussia from a burgrave of Nürnberg, invested with the feof by Henry VI. Others represent old princely families with sovereign blood in their veins. The Erbachs claim descent from Emma, daughter of Charlemagne. Unfortunately for the claim, it is pretty clearly demonstrable that Charlemagne had no daughter named Emma.

Some princely houses represent very ancient families whose nobility dates from a remote antiquity—such are the Fürstenbergs, Dettingens, Hohenlohes, Solms, and Leiningens. Others are of mere bürger origin, as the Fuggers, weavers of Augsburg, and the Waldbotts, merchants of Bremen. Others, again, spring from alliances of princes with mistresses. Such is the family of Platen. Clara Elizabeth of Meissenbach married Baron Franz von Platen. She became the mistress of the first Elector of Hanover, the father of George I. The husband, for accommodating the Elector with his wife, was created a Count of the Empire, and the post-office was made hereditary in the family. The Son of Countess Platen—whether the Elector or the Count was the father nobody knows—married a daughter of General von Uffeln, and she became a mistress of George I., but was deposed for the sister of Count Platen, married to Baron von Kielmannsegge, created by the king Countess of Arlington. The mediatised Counts of Wallmoden had a similar, and not more savoury, origin for their "immediateness."

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[1] Isenburg-Birstein, Isenburg-Büdingen in Wächtersbach, Isenburg-Büdingen in Meerholz, Solms-Rödelheim.

[2] Isenburg-Birstein, Löwenstein-Rosenberg, Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Lich u. Hohensolms, Solms-Rödelheim, Solms-Laubach, Solms-Wildenfels, Erbach-Erbach, Erbach-Schönberg, Erbach-Fürstenau, Isenburg-Büdingen, Isenburg-Büdingen in Meerholz, Isenburg-Büdingen in Wächtersbach, Alt-Leiningen-Westerburg, Schönborn, Stolberg-Wernigerode, Stolberg-Rossla, the Baron von Riedseck, and the Count of Görz.

[3] Holzappel and Schaumburg, von der Leyen, Wied, Waldbott, Bassenheim, Neu-Leiningen-Westerburg.

After the Thirty Years' war, Austria created the postmaster family of Thurn und Taxis princely and immediate. The old Duchess of Orleans, a princess palatine by birth, wrote: "A prince of Taxis! This is a wonderful princedom indeed! If you want a pack of princes of this sort, you can create them by the dozen." In 1708 she wrote about the newly-created Free-imperial-counts of Wurmbrand: "Of the county of Wurmbrand I never heard in all my life; it must be something newly cooked, or Austrian." It is not to be wondered at that numbers of ancient families, as the Guelfs, Wettiners, and Holsteiners, should feel indignant to have to rank among such, and to give these newly-fledged princes a seat beside them in the Diet. If the Protestant princes did not remonstrate at this privilege being freely given as a reward for conversion, it was only because they wanted the same favour awarded them for their sons by mistresses, or by morganatic wives. When the Emperor offered the title of prince to Count Anthony Günther of Oldenburg, of the illustrious House of Holstein, "No, thank you," he said; "I had rather enter at the head of the counts than bring up the tail of the princes." With an outburst of rage and contempt, a Count of Orange-Nassau flung behind him one of the newly-cooked princes who was entering the council-chamber of the Emperor before him, bitterly exclaiming, "Apprenez, monsieur, que des princes comme vous marchent après des comtes comme nous."

The recruiting of the "immediate" nobility went on with great activity during the 320 years since the first patent was given to the Croys, in 1486, to the year 1804, when the Trautmannsdorfs closed the series. In that period twenty-nine diplomas have been issued creating Princes of the Empire, and twenty-three making Counts of the Empire, all "immediate." The venerable houses of Stolberg in Prussia, and Castell and Ortenburg in Bavaria, are the only three among the mediatised which do not owe their origin to Austria. Isenburg, Leiningen, Solms, and Wittgenstein were indeed old Counts of the Empire before the introduction of patents, but they were made princely in 1743, 1779, 1742, and 1792 respectively. For a long time the Herren von or zu der Lippe refused to be ennobled by patent. Their nobility dated from the remotest antiquity, and they exercised jurisdiction over their retainers and vassals under feof to the see of Paderborn and the house of Hesse-Cassel. At the Reformation they took the title of count, but it was not till 1789 that the Count of Lippe-Detmold condescended to accept a diploma from Joseph II. creating him a prince.

Notwithstanding the dying out of many hundreds of illustrious immediate, princely, and countly houses, the Austrian factory had worked so vigorously that, at the breaking out of the Revolution, there were 300 free imperial princes and counts, and several thousand immediate barons and knights, who did not indeed enjoy a seat on the bench of princes, but exercised almost absolute sovereignty in their petty estates. Of these there were all degrees, from the powerful Elector-Kings of Brandenburg-Prussia and Hanover-England to the tiniest counts and barons and knights lording it over their little patches of land and handfuls of bauers. The sovereign Count of Leinburg-Styrum-Wilhelmsdorf, in Franconia, had a standing army of hussars, consisting of a colonel, nine lower officers, and *two* privates. He published, however, his *Court Gazette*, and instituted an order in his diminutive realm. Baron Grote, in the Harz, reigned over one farm: and when Frederic the Great came there, he met him with a fraternal embrace, saying, "Voilà deux souverains qui se rencontrent."

At the present day the sovereign principality of Liechtenstein consists of a village or two, some Alpine pastures, and scattered farms. The diminutive capital contains 1000 inhabitants. The principality under the Bund furnished a contingent of 55 men. The government is monarchical, but has been constitutional since 1818; there is only one chamber of representatives. The still smaller county of Bentheim has fallen to Prussia, and in 1816 the head of the house was given the title of Prince (Fürst) instead of that of Count.

The Rheinbund reduced the list of three hundred sovereigns to about thirty; the spiritual princes had disappeared wholly. But the Baron von der Leyen was made a prince by the Bund, and in 1837 the house of Bentheim was accorded the same honour by Prussia.

The word "Adel," which we translate *noble*, has in German a signification more extended. There are the higher "Adel" and the lower "Adel." To the former category belong all those families which are princely, and can mate only among themselves or into the foreign sovereign houses—the families which, as von Stein coarsely said, will serve as a stud for Russia, and not for Russia only. To the latter category belong all counts, barons, and "vons"—all, that is, who have a right to bear a coat-of-arms, and are reckoned in England as gentlemen by birth. There are, however, princes who hover in an ambiguous position between these classes, princes to whom the predicate of durchlaucht ("your serene highness") is accorded, but who are not regarded as "ebenbürtig" with other serene highnesses, or even with countly highnesses. For instance, the countly houses of Isenburg-Philippseich, of Isenburg-Büdingen, and of Erbach, belong to the very highest stratum of the German aristocracy, ranking at court among sovereign princes; but the princely houses of Blücher, Hatzfeldt, Lichnowsky, Lynar, Pless, Putbus, and Wrede do not, in this respect. A Prince Bismarck, for instance, could not marry into a family of a mediatised baron. The Bismarcks, though made princely, are not made "ebenbürtig" with the families to whom the privilege of mating with royalty was accorded by Act of June 8, 1815.

If any member of one of the reigning or mediatised families contracts a marriage with a person below his rank, the marriage is entitled morganatic. It is performed in church by priest or pastor, but the sons are mules; they neither inherit the rank or reversion of estates of the family, nor can they continue the pedigree. The morganatic wife is no wife in the eye of the law, because not acknowledged by the family; and the families of the upper nobility are allowed to make rules among themselves barring or licensing marriages. Of this more in another chapter. The union with the morganatic wife, be it remembered, has been blessed by the Church, and sealed with solemn vows of mutual fidelity before God, publicly taken. The "unebenbürtige" wife who gives her hand to a prince does so trusting not to the law, but to his honour as a gentleman and to his oath as a Christian, and the prince who takes advantage of his legal privilege to throw her aside when a more profitable match presents, forfeits his rights to be regarded as one or the other.

A member of the German high nobility towered, in his own opinion and in German law, above our most ancient coroneted families—and by what right? By decree of the Rheinbund! A

Howard, a Percy, a Neville, not fit to mate with a Fugger, a Waldbott, or a Platen!

The instance of the Fuggers is crucial.

A weaver of Graben, near Augsburg, in the fifteenth century was the founder of this family. A son was made a gentleman by Frederic III. in 1452, but this branch died out in 1583. The second son, Jacob Fugger, left seven sons, whom Maximilian I. ennobled. The Emperor pawned to the Fuggers the county of Kirchberg and the lordship of Weissenhorn for 70,000 florins. As the money was not forthcoming to redeem the estates, Charles V. created the brothers Anthony and Raimund counts, and made the lands over to them for ever. Though Counts of the Empire, the Fuggers stuck to the shop, and continued their looms. One branch of the family was made "immediate" by Francis II. in 1803, but it was mediatised in 1805; thus, it enjoyed its immunity for *two* years, and in virtue thereof a Prince of Fugger-Wellerstein, a descendant of the old Augsburg weaver, would scorn to marry into any English family except the royal family. One of our ducal houses could only furnish him with a morganatic mate. Since the Rheinbund, other houses have disappeared or lost their sovereignty. Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen went down the ladder in 1849, when Prussia wanted a patch of ground whereon to plant her foot on the border of Würtemberg. Prince William of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen were induced to resign their sovereignty to the representative of a younger branch in Prussia. Hesse-Homburg was wrenched from Hesse-Darmstadt by Prussia in 1866. Hanover and Nassau were incorporated with Prussia the same year. Isenburg is now divided between Prussia and Hesse. Others must go in time; they will go whenever they show a desire to be independent. The Duke of Brunswick ventured to send a congratulatory telegram on the birth of an heir to the exiled Hanoverian family. It was significantly remarked in semi-official papers that "this proceeding is not likely to be forgotten" by Prussia. So with the rest, they are all on good behaviour, and allowed to live on sufferance.[1]

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[1] There now remain twenty-two sovereign houses in Germany: four royal—Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg; six grand-ducal—Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Saxe-Weimar, Oldenburg; five ducal—Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenberg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Anhalt; and

The least symptom of distaste for singing day and night "Donine salorem jac Imperatorem nostrum," and there will be another fall of the angels into the limbo of mediatisation. Prussia will be ready to address the princes in the words of Lady Macbeth:

> "Stand not upon the order of your going,
> But go at once."

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seven princely,—Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Waldeck, Reuss, elder line, and Reuss younger line, Schaumburg-Lippe, and Lippe. Under the Bund there were thirty-two, consequently ten have gone since the Vienese Agreement of May 15, 1820.

CHAPTER II.

THE LOWER NOBILITY.

Malcolm. Dispute it like a man.
Macduff. I shall do so;
But I must also feel it as a man:
I cannot but remember such things were,
That were most precious to me.
Macbeth, act. iv. sc. 3.

No "Adel" without an allodial estate, was a maxim of early German law. The son of an "edeler Herr" who did not inherit, relapsed into simple freeman. The Edelmann living on his estate held of his ancestors, and not by feof of crown or great vassal, was a Freiherr, a lord of the manor, or baron. Menzel has happily said that in the early Middle Ages all the barons were bauers and all bauers barons. It was a favourite saying, "A nobleman is at the plough in the morning, and at tourney in the afternoon." A son of Albert of Austria praised an old peasant once for his good plough, strapping son, and sturdy horses. Next day he was much surprised to see the old man arrive at court at the head of his armed retainers, and to learn that he was the Baron of Hegenau. Scott's Arnold Biederman is not a fancy picture. There were thousands of such rustic nobles scattered over the country. Too often they combined taking of tolls with tillage.

The present princely family of Salm derives from a knightly house on the Rhine, which made its wealth by exacting of every ship that passed Bingen a pound of pepper. In Altenburg, near Reutlingen, as late as the sixteenth century, lived nobles who on Sunday swaggered to church in scarlet mantles, and on week-days divided their time between ploughing their fields and taking purses on the highway.

Of landed property there were three sorts: the crown lands, given in feof to the great vassals, and the free land, private property, *allodium nobile*, held by the baron, and *allodium villanum*, held by a bauer, a freeman, but one who, on account of the smallness of his estate, could not exercise magisterial rights over it. The representatives of these two classes in England are the squires and the yeomen. Of these, the former were alone ritterbürtig, *i.e.* capable of being knighted, and bearing coats-of-arms. They are entitled in mediæval Latin "mediocriter nobiles." Among the lower nobility the law of "ebenbürtigkeit" applied only to marriages with serfs. Marriages with free persons, the daughters of farmers and of citizens, was allowed. Thus, in the story of the "Poor Henry," which Longfellow has adopted for the groundwork of his "Golden Legend," the knight marries the miller's daughter, who was ready to sacrifice her life to cure him of his disease. Such an union was unusual, but not illegal. So also the country nobles married rich citizens' daughters, to recruit their dilapidated fortunes. It was not till the fifteenth century that this was deprecated. At a tournament at Onolzbach in 1485 it was decided that a nobleman who had married a bürger's daughter was not to be allowed to enter the lists against other gentlemen, *unless* she had brought with her a dower of 4000 florins.

Marriage out of their rank did not debar the sons from inheriting the name, title, and estate of the father, but after the fifteenth century it did bar their way to the enjoyment of certain privileges. There were offices about the court of the prince which they were not allowed to fill; they could not take the seats occupied by their fathers in the provincial diets. Ecclesiastical benefices, chapters, and certain abbeys were closed to nobles who could not prove purity of blood through eight or sixteen descents on both sides. And in German heraldry a *mésalliance* effaces every quartering on a shield, and leaves the noble who has contracted it with, indeed, his family coat, but with a cancelled past, to start a new family, and be the root of a new genealogical tree. In the play of "Pfeffer Rosel," the Baron of Sonnenberg marries a market-girl. The Emperor bids six ladies of his court lay their hands on her head, and he ennobles an ancestor of the gingerbread-seller with each hand that reposes on her, so as to save the escutcheon and the pedigree of the Sonnenbergs. The ennobling of ancestors long gathered to the dust was done not infrequently to assure the benefits of his rank to their descendant. The Chinese system is the reverse of the German. In the Celestial Empire the exaltation of a man to be a mandarin, mandarinises—excuse the expression—all his forefathers.

By the fifteenth century many of the barons had called themselves counts. They had assumed the title without having any of the requisites of a count. They were not vassals holding feofs from the crown. But the original countly families had broken into so many branches—each branch and subramification had carried with it the title—that the old Freiherren thought they might as well bear it also. But there were also a great many landed gentry who contented themselves with the title of "edler Her von"—like the Scottish "laird." A few, a very few, old families remain on their ancestral estates, untitled. Such is the family of Gänz von Pudlitz, to this day proudly declining coronets, whether offered by Emperors or Grand Dukes. The head of the house is simply designated Der edeler Herr von Pudlitz, and the brothers are content with the modest prefix of "von." Yet the family can show an unbroken pedigree from the sixth century.

The nobility enjoyed several privileges at the close of the Middle Ages, and till the French Revolution.

1. They held an hereditary magistracy in their estates. This was much as if every county squire was *ex officio* justice of peace.
2. They sat on the upper bench in the provincial assemblies.
3. They had the right of settling tradesmen on their estates—a valuable privilege, as it checked the monopoly of the guilds.
4. They were exempt from having soldiers quartered on them.
5. They were exempt from paying taxes.
6. They were exempt from judicial mutilation, and insulting punishments.

With the break-up of the Empire many privileges were given up or abolished. The right of exemption from having soldiers quartered on them was the first to go. In the Thirty Years' war neither Swedes nor Imperialists were likely to respect such a privilege, when the house of the gentleman offered the most comfortable quarters.

The next to go was exemption from taxation. At first, the nobility sought to save the principle by granting subsidies; but this did not last long: the free contribution expected of them were found to exceed the sum that could be exacted by taxation, and in their own interest they yielded.

A favourite print in village inns represents the bauer and the parasites who prey on him arranged on a scale. The Emperor stands on one step with the motto, "I live on the taxes." The soldier on another stage boasts, "I pay for nothing." The pastor on his platform says, "I am supported by the tithe." The beggar whines, "I live on what is given me." The nobleman airily says, "I pay no taxes;" and the Jew mutters, "I bleed them all." Beneath the whole crew stands the bauer with bent back, exclaiming, "Dear God, help me! I have to maintain all these." The burdens remain to this day unrelieved, rather made more onerous; but the Beamter, the government official, has taken the place of the Edelmann. There was a reason for the exemption of the nobleman from taxation. He paid with his blood. The gentleman was the soldier of the Empire. His profession was arms. The battlefield consumed his sons. The farmer tilled and reaped, and paid tax to be allowed to carry on his agricultural round without molestation, without having to buckle on the sword and grasp the spear, when he ought to be sowing or reaping. But when the military system ceased to be feudal, this reason for exemption ceased also; and when it ceased it was abandoned. With the surrender of exemption from taxation, and from being quartered upon, the special privileges distinguishing the gentry from ordinary freemen were gone. Those that remained were unimportant. The nobleman might, indeed, claim a right to sit on a chair when had up before a court of justice, and to be cited by written summons, not by word of mouth; to be married in his castle instead of in the parish church, and to put a lock on his pew; but these were privileges rapidly becoming antiquated, little valued, and ready to disappear; or were shared with wealthy citizens; and were a grievance to nobody.

It was otherwise with the rights claimed by the nobility and gentry as landed proprietors.

The English system of letting farms for a term of years at a fixed annual rent—a system which dates back to the reign of Edward III.—was unknown in Germany. So also was the Italian system of farming estates, the tenant sharing the profits equally with the landlord. Money was scarce in Germany, and what money there was had a limited circulation; for every free city. sovereign, count, and margrave coined; and these several coinages lost value beyond the district.

The German system was essentially feudal. The nobility were so constantly engaged in war that they could not attend to their land; they therefore gave it to villein or freeborn farmers on "lehn"—in feof. A large tract of crown land, for instance, was given by the Emperor in feof to a count. The graf did homage for the "lehn" on bended knee, when invested with it. He was thenceforth bound to supply the Emperor from it with a certain number of fighting men. The count appointed stewards (*Vögte*) over the land; they built themselves castles, and supplied their lord with men and money. Their offices became hereditary in their families. The Castle of Staufen belonged to the Dukes of Zähringen, but it was inhabited from generation to generation by stewards who called themselves lords of Staufen. It was of one of these von Staufen that the story was told which forms the basis of Fouqué's "Undine." The farms were given by these stewards to peasants in feof, and the bauers undertook to supply their lords with so many sacks of corn, so many pecks of malt, so many horses, oxen, geese, and eggs in the year. The farm once given was very generally given for ever; it became an heritable tenure, just as the tenure of the vogt and that of the graf had become hereditary. The castle and barony of Wildenstein was a feudal tenure in male line belonging to the Palatinate of the Rhine. In the beginning of the fifteenth century it was given in feof to Baron John von Zimmern, in this curious fashion, that he should share the castle with another feudal tenant, the knight John Conrad von Bodmann, divide the farms and villages. and on the death of the knight buy right of succession of his heirs for 600 florins. The Baron von Zimmern was a wag and fond of a rough broad joke. The story goes, that, on his entering into possession, the bauers of Wittershausen thought to ingratiate themselves with him by ministering to his sense of fun. When he came to visit their village and fix their annual payment, they assembled on the greensward beside the road, and lying in a circle entangled their legs together, and when he rode up, he found a ring of wriggling peasants with their nether limbs in a knot seemingly inextricable. After having laughed at the comical sight, he asked the occasion of it, when the bauers cried out that they had gone to sleep after their noon meal, and their legs had got entangled, and that now none of them knew his own limbs from those of his neighbour.

"I will restore his proper legs to each man," said the Baron jumping off his horse, and with his whip he laid about the shoulders of each bauer, who speedily loosed himself from the tangle, and skipped out of reach of the lash.

"And now, for having found you your legs again," said Baron, John von Zimmern, "I lay on you the charge of a sack of corn, paid annually to Wildenstein."

After harvest his steward went to Wittershausen with a huge sack, which when full of wheat would load a cart. The peasants were aghast, but had to pay, as no stipulation had been made as to the size of the sack. But they had their revenge. The bauers had a "servitude" on the forest, *i.e.* a right of cutting down trees for building purposes, and a right to clear away sufficient wood to make a way for the conveyance of the timber to their village. They accordingly went into the forest, and selected a tree peculiarly tall, at the extreme further end of the forest, cut it down, laid it *across* a cart, and then hacked down trees right and left, making a broad avenue clean through the woodland up to their village. This brought the baron to terms. He reduced the size of the sack of corn, and they propitiated him by making over to him the church-rate.

In the Middle Ages the strongest ecclesiastical laws were decreed against the taking of rent in money for land; it was regarded as a form of usury, and was forbidden under penalty of excommunication. These laws were evaded by the landlords letting their farms for real payment, *i.e.* for frohn (*corvée*) and payment in *naturalia.* Even at the beginning of the present century it was very common in Germany for the peasants to let bits of ground for building purposes or for garden, not for a sum of money, or annual rent, but on condition that the tenant should give his work for a day or two in the month, and for three or four days at harvest time. During the Middle Ages many freemen farming their own land found it advisable to surrender their estates to the barons, and receive them back again in feof, to secure themselves from molestation by powerful neighbours, and to relieve themselves from the irksomeness of being personally called to arms. Thus nearly all land ceased to be allodial, and was held in feof. Payment was almost always made in kind, and this system proved vexatious. Instead of the farmer paying a half-yearly rent, the steward of the land visited the bauer at irregular intervals, and carried off a tithe of flax, or hemp, or corn, or cattle, as it was needed at the moment by the lord. The steward was not always just in his estimate of the amount to be taken, and he was sometimes oblivious of the fact that he was repeating these requisitions. Caleb Balderstone's raid in search of provisions for the guests at Ravenswood was what took place frequently in every barony of Germany. But if rent in money was not allowed, taxes were permitted, and every horse, and calf, and goose, indeed every stove, was taxed. An old steward, who can remember these payments before they were commuted, says that a farm worth, if sold, 200*l.*, was charged with six or ten such payments—the hearth shilling, the smoke-tax, the Shrove Tuesday eggs, the Walpurgis tax, Michaelmas tax, a pfennig for a goose, nine pfennigs for every calf, etc. But, he adds, when all were collected, the total amount was only four shillings.[1]

The grievance lay, not in the heaviness of the charges, but in their vexatiousness. What was far more grievous than the tithe or tax, was the frohn (*corvée*), the right of the landlord to exact work from the peasant on so many days in the week, and to requisition his carts and horses. The word "frohn" is derived from the Old German *frô*, a lord, and means work done for the lord of the manor. "Handfrohn" consisted in service on the home farm, an estate surrounding the castle or manor-house (*meierhof*), for immediate requirements; this was cultivated entirely by unpaid labourers, working sometimes three days a week, in return for a more or less extended farm which they enjoyed free of rent in money. The lord had also right to employ a bauer's son or servant as a messenger, or to call him to assist in beating the woods for a chase. It was the "frohn" which was the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Peasants' War. The Countess of Lupfen had eagerly embraced the tenets of the Reformation. She thereupon suppressed the festivals of the peasants as papistical and superstitious, and she ordered her peasants to go on Sundays gathering strawberries for her dinner-table, and snail-shells for the making of ornamental pincushions. This circumstance, so trifling in appearance, became the occasion of a general conflagration. Hitherto no "frohn" had been exacted on a festival; on Sunday the bauer had been a freeman. The snail-shells were the limit of his obedience. On the day of strawberries and snail-shells the peasants of Stühlingen, Bondorf, and Ewatingen assembled to the number of six hundred, and announced to the count and countess that they were freemen, and would pay no more frohn and tax. This was on August 24, 1524. In a fortnight the six hundred had swelled to four thousand. Before the end of the year nearly every castle in the Schwarzwald was in flames.

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[1] Dr. Laurens Fischer: *Der Teutsche Adel.* Frankf. 1852.

In the towns, as in the country, the classes were originally divided into patricians, freemen, and not-freemen. The patricians were the nobility or gentry of the towns, owners of land in and outside of the walls, those who lived not necessarily on trade, but on their estates, and who formed the governing body of the town. They were originally all of gentle blood; but in time the masters of the trades succeeded in working their way into the council, and then bought their gentility of the Emperor. Thus it came about that many patrician families were also engaged in trade. Fugger, the weaver of Augsburg, though raised by Charles V. to be a count, did not think it necessary to abandon his looms. When asked to choose his arms, he humbly elected lilies, for "*they* toil not, neither do they spin," and he hoped they would ever remind his descendants of the humble origin of the house. Roth of Ulm was a sugar-refiner, with factories in Italy and Spain. The Croarias and Holbeins of Ravensburg in the fourteenth century had paper-mills. An ox's head is the water-mark by which paper can be recognised that issued from the factory of the Holbeins. The Welsers of Augsburg were great merchants; they bought Venezuela, and Charles V. gave them a patent to allow them to continue their business without derogation to their gentility. The Ayrers of Heilbronn were dealers in saffron, the Weichsers of Schaffhausen, who fought as knights at Sempach, were money-changers. The Behm family of Augsburg were tile-burners

But perhaps the most curious instance of the mediæval view of trade not being dishonouring to a noble is seen in the history of Ludwig the Saint, Landgrave of Thuringia, who entered into a partnership with a pedlar, and was able to clothe his court with his annual profits. When the chapman's ass was stolen by some of the vassals of the Bishop of Würzburg, he made war upon the bishop, and harried his land till the pedlar's ass was restored. From the fifteenth century, however, the landed nobility began to look down on the patricians, as a pack of grocers and weavers who had no right to be reckoned as of gentle birth; and they refused to admit them to tournaments. In Augsburg and Basel, in 1474, the chapters of the cathedrals, filled with younger sons of noble families living on their country estates, by statute excluded a citizen from ever enjoying a prebendal stall in their highly aristocratic bodies. In former times members of patrician families had been Grand Masters of the Knightly Orders; now they were excluded.[1]

For a long time the patricians monopolised the government of the towns; but the trade-guilds formed a powerful organisation against them, and forced their way into the Rath. A curious instance may be given from the history of Strassburg. There two rival families, the Zorns and the Mülnheimers, were the most powerful in the city, and were mutually jealous. In 1321, Claus Zorn complained in the town-council that the Rathhaus was much nearer the tavern frequented by the Mülnheimers than that where the Zorns drank their beer. The consequence was, that when a motion was put to the vote, the whipper-in of the Mülnheimers could call up his party, and carry it or throw it out, before the Zorns arrived on the spot; therefore Claus proposed that a new town-hall should be built exactly halfway between the rival taverns, and his proposal was actually carried and acted upon.

The quarrel between the two families burst out in full explosion in 1332. There was a garden outside the walls of Strassburg where the gentlefolks met to eat sausages, drink lager beer, and dance or fight. In the year mentioned, eating, drinking, and dancing one hot day led to a grand battle, in which two of the Mülnheim faction were killed, and seven of that of the Zorns. The Landvogt arrived on the scene, and endeavoured to put an end to the strife, but failed. Numerous nobles of the neighbourhood flocked in, and threw themselves into the *mêlée*. The fight waxed more furious, and the chief magistrates were powerless to arrest it. Then the guilds met, entered the Rathhaus, took the banner, keys, and seal of the city, by acclamation altered the constitution of the council, which had before been filled exclusively by members of the ecclesiastical corporation and twenty-four patricians, and then, with an armed band of apprentices, put down the riot. They went further, and demolished the drinking-places of the rival factions, and laid waste the pleasure-gardens where they had danced and quarrelled. The town-council was variously constituted after that, according as the guilds or the patricians got the upper hand; but on the occasion mentioned the former first succeeded in entering and breaking up the close corporation of the Stadtrath.

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[1] The first Grand Master of the German Order was a Waldbot, the second a Carpen, both citizens (patricians) of Bremen.

In the fourteenth century the Emperors began to create nobles by patents, for the same consideration that made James I. create baronets.

> Dat census honores,
> Census amicitias; pauper ubique jacet.

The Emperor Wenceslas the Fool ennobled all kind of rabble. Sigismund sold titles. Under his successor Ferdinand a chimney-sweep was created a baron. It was the age of the Briefadel. Patrician families like those of Ebner, Kress, Haller, Behaim, Holzschuher, Roth, etc., some by patent, some without, adopted the predicate "von," under the impression that this particle betokened gentility; and they blossomed into Ebner von Eschenbach, Kress von Kressenstein, Haller von Hallerstein, Behaim von Schwarzbach, Holzschuher von Aspach, Roth von Schreckenstein, after estates they had inherited or purchased. Others prefixed the "von" to their family names, whether appropriately or not, as "von Weber," "von Denzlinger," which are as absurd as "of Weaver" and "of Londoner." Others, not having estates, have taken the name of the place of their nativity as a territorial title, as Schnorr von Carolstadt, Varnhagen von Ense. Many bought or were granted baronial titles, and assumed the pearl coronet of a Freiherr, who had never actually held a freehold. Members of trade-guilds who had found their way into the council of their town received patents of gentility; they might put a "von" before their names, and adopt a coronet of three strawberry-leaves and two pearls.

The grant of arms and the prefix of "von" in Germany was and is precisely like the grant of arms made in England by the College of Heralds, which is also costly. But in England now any one adopts arms, and tails his name with esquire, whether he have a right or not to these distinctions. In Germany a man can scarcely paint a coat on his carriage and put a "von" before his name, unless he has an hereditary or an acquired right to both. The ordinary gentleman, untitled, uses a coronet—by what right is perhaps more easily asked than answered—which is the same as that we attribute to a marquis, *i.e.* three strawberry-leaves and two pearls. The coronet of a Margraf in Germany has three strawberry-leaves and *six* pearls. The princes alone can raise a bürger out of his class and make a gentleman of him. They sometimes confer gentility for life, so that the person ennobled bears the "von" before his name, but his sons do not.[1] This *persönlicher Adel* attends the giving of an Order. The elevation of a citizen to be a gentleman is noted in the official gazette and daily papers.

The old Freiherren were the ancient landed gentry—in Swabia and Franconia obtaining independence over their estates, like little princes. In 1791 the Margravate of Anspach-Baireuth fell to Prussia through the surrender of the last Margrave, Karl Friedrich, who married Lady Craven, after she had lived with him as his mistress for some years. The two principalities were given a new constitution, and the liberties of the free knights in them were curtailed. Three independent barons were obliged to surrender their sovereignty over their little domains. The only opposition encountered was in the cantons of Altmühl and Gebirg. Portions of Franconia and Swabia fell to Bavaria, portions swarming with these "immediate" families. Their independence was summarily abolished. Those in the Rhenish provinces were extinguished by Napoleon in 1805.

Since the surrender of the Imperial crown by Francis II. there have been no fresh creations of Freiherren. Publishers, as Tauchnitz, chemists, as Liebig, tailors, as Stulz, have been made barons; but a modern baron is not the equivalent of an ancient Freiherr. A baron created by a Grand-Duke since the dissolution of the Empire, has a right to bear a seven-pearled coronet, but the newbaked noble cannot take his place in the close aristocratic society of the town he inhabits. The baron hovers in *gauche* discomfort between the bürger and the adel; he is the bat of society, neither altogether bird nor beast, and not an inviting specimen of either. In the theatre he takes a *loge* in the first circle, instead of in the bürger range of boxes, but he sits there uneasily; he has lost his old companions, and his new give him the cold shoulder. Princes, like the Almighty, love to create out of nothing; but their creations, unlike His, are not always "very good." The German baron newly made stands on the same level as the English knight. He is perhaps a gentleman by birth, he is more probably a successful grocer or cornfactor.

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[1] Sometimes, if they maintain their father's position, they are allowed in courtesy to retain the "von;" but they have no legal right to it.

During the Middle Ages the landed gentry had been a check upon the princes. The latter could only exercise their sovereignty with consent of the chambers in their provinces in the matter of raising taxes and imposing laws. After the Thirty Years' war, when the French fever set in over Germany, the princes sought not merely to copy French fashions, but also French despotism. The extravagance of their courts made it necessary for them to impose huge burdens on their lands, and such imposition the landed Freiherren opposed. The princes, therefore, set deliberately to work to extirpate them. This they effected by degrees, by involving them in extravagances, making them attend their courts and there dissipate their fortune, and then buying their land. In Oldenburg, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were fifty-three noble estates, held by old families of gentle blood, the Westerholz and Mundel, Mausingen and Fichenhold, Knigge, Rhaden, Steding, and others. Nearly all of these have died out or lost their estates. Two that survive, the Wehlaus and Westerloys, have so sunk in the world that they are now represented by farmers, and have abandoned their claim to be regarded as gentry. In Anhalt Dessau, Prince Leopold, who married the apothecary's daughter, bought up all the estates in his land, and those of the nobility who demurred to sell he drove out of the principality, and took their estates from them at a price he fixed. Thus he got rid of the Barons von Grote, the Harslebens, Schillings, Krosigks, and many others. The Prince of Bernburg did the same. He took their lands from the von Geuderns, Erlachs, and Einsiedenlers, etc. The same policy was pursued by the Prince of Köthen. He also was not satisfied till he reigned alone over bauers, with a nobility hanging about his court, and dependent on his bounty as his chief foresters, marshals, chamberlains, etc.

In Schiller's letters we get a picture of the old landed gentry as they were, and as they were being made. On December 8, 1787, he wrote from Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt: "I have met in this neighbourhood with some interesting families. For instance, in the village of Hochheim is a noble family, consisting of five young ladies—in all, ten persons—living in the old patriarchal way, or reviving old knightly manners. No one in the family wears anything which is not of home manufacture. Shoes, cloth, silk, all the furniture, all the necessaries of life, and almost all its luxuries, are grown or manufactured on the property, many by the hands of the ladies, as in patriarchal days and in the times of chivalry. The greatest exterior cleanliness and order, and even display and beauty, please the eye; of the ladies, some are young, and all are simple and true, like the nature in which they live. The father is a sturdy, honourable, landed noble, a famous sportsman, and a generous host, and, I must add, an inveterate smoker. Two hours distant, in a village, I have met with a house the reverse of this. There lives the Chamberlain von S——,[1] with his wife and nine children, on an extravagant princely footing. In place of a house they have a castle, in place of society they hold a court, instead of plain dinner a dress dinner in French fashion. The wife is a vaporous, false, intriguing creature, and hideous as falsehood, but all in the best Parisian *ton*. The young lady is very pretty, but the devil rules the mother, and would not let her permit the young girl to travel with us. Herr von S—— is a dignified man of many good and shining qualities, full of entertainment and propriety, but a libertine to the highest degree. He is Charlotte's[1] uncle, and he values her highly."

The European war was felt severely by the lesser German nobility. Their estates had been burdened by extravagant living, and they were ill-prepared for a season of invasion and its consequent evils. On the Rhine, in Hesse, in Baden, in the Palatinate, the Code Napoléon was introduced, and subdivision of property was made compulsory. In Prussia, before this, Frederick William had done his utmost to break up the properties and destroy the privileges of the aristocracy, and for much the same reasons as other princes, because they interfered with despotic government.

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[1] Herr von Stein in Völkershausen. Frau v. Stein was the aunt of Charlotte von Kalb.

[2] Charlotte von Kalb, who set her cap at Schiller, and ten years later at Jean Paul Richter.

But it was not only where the Code Napoléon was introduced, that lands were divided and subdivided till the owners sank from being nobles to bauers. Such a subdivision had been universal in Germany; fought against, indeed, in Westphalia and Saxony, but prevailing freely elsewhere. Great houses had melted into a hundred little farms. But in the seventeenth century it was fully seen that this equal cutting-up of land was ruinous; and everywhere the gentry were adopting primogeniture or some other system by which properties might be held together. But it was too late. The introduction of the Code Napoléon sealed the fate of the gentry on the Rhine. Elsewhere they were ruined by the events of 1848.

The revolution in that year produced an electrical effect in Germany. On February 27, at a gathering at Mannheim, four demands were made—freedom of the press, trial by jury, national representation, and general conscription. A mass deputation carried these demands on March 1 before the Baden Chamber. A few days later the abolition of the privileges of the aristocracy, and of the remains of feudal obligations, of copyholds and ground-rents, was demanded. Speedily the whole of Germany was in commotion; the bauers joined the revolution started by town republican clubs, with the double object of getting rid of ground-rents and of expelling the Jews from the country. In the National Assembly at Frankfurt a violent attack on the nobility was led by Mohl, Rösler, and Jacob Grimm; and "the nobility as an order was abolished" by a majority of fourteen. But whilst the National Assembly was discussing the rights of man, natural equality, and the bases of authority, the princes, who had cowered before the storm, put their heads together and organised opposition. When the deputation of the Assembly came to Cologne to meet the King of Prussia, and lay before him its resolutions, Frederick William curtly told them not to leave out of their calculations the fact that there were princes in Germany, and that he was one of them. A volley dispersed the rioters in Berlin; the bauers grew suspicious of the town rabble, and sided with the sovereign. The revolution came to an end; but it had left its victims, especially in the south. The small sovereigns, in the agony of their alarm, had flung the gentry to the wolves, and many were reduced to poverty by the loss of their property in land. All rights of "frohn" were absolutely abolished, without compensation to the lord of the manor; and the State took measures to convert the copyhold land of the bauer into a freehold estate, by making its allodification compulsory should the tenant be able and willing to commute. In Austria all charges on land were abolished by a stroke of the pen on September 2, 1848. In Bavaria the work of allodification was begun by a law passed June 4, 1848; in Würtemberg on April 14, 1848; in Baden on April 10 and July 31, 1848. In Kurhessen all feofs, and ground-rents, and charges on land, together with other manorial rights, were abolished on August 26, 1848, the landlords receiving as indemnity from 3 to 5 per cent. of the value of their estates. This was done in Waldeck, in Sigmaringen, in Saxe-Weimar, and elsewhere. In almost every case all personal services were done away with without compensation. To assist the peasants in converting their farms into freeholds, the Saxon Government established a fund for the redemption of the land, under Government guarantee. In 1850, a similar bank was established in Prussia. Baden and Hesse followed. The law for the establishment of "rent banks" provided the machinery for the wholesale redemption of the land. By it the State constituted itself the broker between the peasants by whom the rent was paid and the landlords who had to receive it. The bank established in each district advanced to the latter in rent-debentures, paying 4 per cent. interest, a capital sum equal to twenty years' purchase. The peasant paid into the bank each month a twelfth part of a rent calculated at 5 or 4½ per cent. on this capital sum, according as he elected to free his property from incumbrance in forty-one or fifty-six years, the respective terms within which, at compound interest, the 1 or 1½ per cent., paid in addition to the 4 per cent. interest on the debenture, would extinguish the capital.

As the greatest part of the estates of the gentry had been let, there remained to them now only the home farm and the sum in money they received from the State for their lands which had been let and leased. This money came to them conveniently, at a time when they were for the most part in debt, not having recovered the exhaustive effects produced by the European war. The capital disappeared, and their sons are left with a little patch of land about the ancestral castle, and no funds on which to keep up the stately mansion. The result of the allodification has therefore been to sever the gentry from the soil. They cannot live all the year round in the country; they go for a few weeks in the summer to the schloss, carrying with them sufficient furniture, and there they picnic for a while. They have lost their interest in the peasants, and the peasants in them. They seek situations under Government as judges, or make the army their profession, and live in offices on their salaries rather than starve in their ancestral halls. The Englishman living in Germany should remember this: the bürger in office everywhere and at all times bears the title of his office. Herr Gerber, when a judge, even in *déshabille*, is Herr Obergerichtsrath; but Herr von Stolzenfels drops the civil designation when he closes the door of the office; he is then von Stolzenfels only, and it is an insult to entitle him Gerichtsrath. In the south of Germany, where the free imperial knights were most numerous and most independent, their descendants are most impoverished and most dependent on State employ. In the north of Germany the Freiherren are still landed gentry, but they have not clung to old acres with the same tenacity as the nobles and squires of England—probably they have not been able to do so. In 1861 there were in all Prussia 12,543 knightly estates—that is, estates belonging to gentle families—but of these only 394 had been in a family over a hundred years. In 1858, in the Prussian House of Lords, there were only 77 landed proprietors holding old family estates, the remaining 89 were life peers.

The Bavarian Constitution requires for the position of a heritable "Reichsrath" an entailed landed estate paying at least 30*l*. per annum in tax. The Würtemburg Constitution requires that the landed proprietor shall have a net income from his estate of 300*l*. These landed gentry elect a certain number of members to the Upper House as their representatives.

In North Germany the landed gentry suffered by the allodification of their farms, but not to the same extent as those in the south; the process was less rapid, and more moderate. In the north the nobles are not unfrequently manufacturers; dye-works, spinning-mills, distilleries, rise within a few yards of the castle The reaction after 1848 helped the Prussian nobility to obtain some new privileges.

In Bavaria the noble families are allowed by law to found fresh majorats, *i.e.* fresh families with entailed estates, carrying with them titles and coronets and representation in the first chamber. If an aristocracy is to be preserved, this seems the most reasonable manner of letting it develop itself.

If the citizen and the peasant represent man alive to the consciousness that he is a member of a family, the noble represents man awake to the fact of the continuity of family life. The aristocracy is the class invested with historic consciousness. The citizen and bauer do not care a straw who were their grandfathers, and have no thought for their grandchildren. A member of an aristocratic class is full of interest respecting the past of his family, and plants trees, and builds, not for himself, but for a future generation.

In the German courts the nobility not mediatised were treated with sovereign contempt. Frederic, the fat King of Würtemberg, the smallest of kings and the greatest of snobs, did his utmost to drive the few that lingered on in Swabia out of his realm by making residence in it intolerable. He published a decree that no nobleman of his newly manufactured kingdom should be allowed to leave his district for more than a week at a time without leave of the "bürger" functionaries of the parish. In 1810 the Minister of the Interior, by gracious consent of his Majesty, issued the following licence to a count:—"The Herr Graf is required by his Majesty to spend at least three months in every year at the royal residential city of Stuttgart. With respect to the remaining nine months, should the count desire to reside on his own estates, his Majesty accords his most gracious permission to him to do so. His Majesty begs further to express his gracious hope that his sovereign orders will meet with punctual attention. Should this hope be disappointed, one quarter of the territorial receipts of the Herr Graf will be confiscated to the royal treasury."

There is something not a little insulting in the way in which the old landed gentry—counts and barons of as good, if not better blood than their sovereigns—are treated when they visit court. Their aristocratic rank is ignored; military rank alone is recognised. Rank throughout Germany is military, but certain civil offices are reckoned as military offices. Thus a judge ranks as a major-general, and a lord-in-waiting as a colonel. The princes of the royal or grand-ducal family, and the mediatised princes in their territory, are above rank. The following is the order of precedence in a minor German court :—

1st *class.* "*Excellencies.*"[1]

Generals in command of a division.
Generals in command of an army corps.
A minister-president of the House of Assembly (Ständeversammlung).
An ambassador.
A privy councillor of the 1st class.[2]

2nd class. "*Metre Rang.*"

Major-general.
Geheimrath of the 2nd class.
Chief judge (President des Gerichtshafes).
First chamberlain.
State councillor (Staatsrath).
Bishop.
Prelate (Catholic or Protestant).

3rd class. "*Chamberlains.*"

Colonel.
Lord-in-waiting.
Privy councillor of legation (Geheime Legationsrath).
Privy councillor of war (Geheime Kriegsrath).
Assessor to a judge.

Appendix to 3rd class.

The landed gentry of whatever aristocratic title.

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[1] Once an "excellency," always an excellency; a general who has commanded an army corps, a president, etc., to the end of his days remains an "excellency," and takes precedence, though out of office, of one in office. They rank by order of service.

[2] A Geheimrath was originally a member of the privy council of the sovereign. Now that constitutional government has become general, there is no privy council. But those whom the sovereign delights to honour can be created Geheimräthe. The members of all government boards are Geheimräthe of the second class. No duties attach to the title of Geheimrath of the first class.

4th class. "*Lieutenant-Colonel Rank.*"

Lieutenant-colonel.
Geheime Hofrath.
Geheime Finanzrath.
Geheime Regierungsrath.
Ministerialrath.
Landescommissär.[1]

5th class. "*Page-in-Waiting Rank.*"

Page-in-Waiting.
Head forester.
Oberstaatsanwalt.
Canon of a cathedral.
Regierungsrath.
Stadtdirektor.

In the first two classes the wives are "hoffähig," presentable at court; in the third class, presentable only if of gentle birth; in the fourth, not presentable at all.

Consequently a countess or baroness comes in at the very end of the tail of presentable ladies. This arrangement sometimes leads to awkwardness. In a certain German court a brother of the sovereign is married to a baroness belonging to a family quite as ancient, noble, and illustrious as that which by favour of Napoleon I. sits now on the throne. The family was, however, never "immediate." The marriage therefore was not "of equal birth," and the sister-in-law of the sovereign could not appear at court as a princess. At the same time there was a clever civilian, whom we will call Herr Pumpernickel, who for his abilities was elevated by the sovereign into a privy councillor of the 1st class, and was made a gentleman of for life by the grant of a "von." His Excellency Herr Geheimrath von Pumpernickel took rank in the first class. Herr von Pumpernickel married a pretty young actress, and introduced her at court, and the Frau Geheimräthin took rank in the first class with him. But the sovereign's sister-in-law, being only a baroness, came in as a landed proprietress in the appendix to the third class, a very long way behind the little actress, who was quite at home and happy in her place, and unconscious of the confusion she caused in divers distinguished breasts. There was no possibility of redressing the inconvenience. The only way for the baroness to climb to the rank of excellencies above the head of the Geheimräthin would be by marrying a general officer, but that was impossible, as she was married to the sovereign's brother. The consequence was that she withdrew altogether from court.

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[1] I leave many of these titles untranslated, because it is impossible to render them into proper English equivalents. Many of them are purely honorary titles.

The head of a princely family alone is called Fürst, the other brothers and sons are Prinzen. But the children of a count are counts and countesses, and of a baron are barons and baronesses.[1] Every writer on the German nobility has urged the abandonment of this senseless adhesion to titles by the junior branches of noble families. It has a mischievous effect. In England, where only the eldest son inherits the title of his father, the other members of the family melt into the general mass of the English gentry, and in another generation are altogether one with it. In Germany the retention of title by every one who derives from a noble family makes of the aristocracy a caste which associates only with its own members, and is absolutely cut off from the class below. This caste severance is the more mischievous, because courtesy of manner and gentlemanliness of feeling are both a tradition of the aristocracy. It is because the bürger has not associated with a polished class, but been left to stew in his own fat, that he has never been able to emancipate himself from mediæval boorishness. The incessant circulation of social currents in England keeps the whole body sweet.

In Germany the classes are superposed as geologic strata. Carrara marble lies on millstone grit. Porphyry pierces beds of pudding-stone without transforming it.

It is a great misfortune to the country that the gentry are dissociated from the land. The bauers are left without a civilising and softening element in their midst. Just before the French Revolution the landed gentry had everywhere built themselves houses in the very midst of the people, not cut off from them by parks as in England, but with the windows looking into the very village street. There was evidently a desire among them to live on a kindly footing with the peasants. These houses are now deserted, or tenanted only for a couple of months in the summer. Of the ways of the peasants, of their domestic sorrows and sufferings, the family at the schloss know nothing and care nothing. For the schloss and village are not the home, only the hotel for the "sommerfrische." Of the friendly, affectionate intercourse between the poor in a parish and the "quality" at the Hall—so common, so pathetic, that exists everywhere in England where there is a resident squirearchy—Germany knows nothing.

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[1] In Northern Germany, when by family compact the chief part of the estate goes to the eldest son, only the eldest son of a count assumes the title of Graf, the other sons are barons.

We lament, in England, the cleavage between the classes, but it is nothing to that which exists in Germany. A separation of classes is mischievous in every way, for every class can and ought to learn from the other. In America, where there are no classes, the result is that every man and woman lives for, and thinks of, self only. There is isolation of interests and disregard of others. In Germany the severance of classes produces a similar result; but in Germany it leads not to self-glorification but to class glorification. The bauer thinks himself everything, and hates the citizen. The citizen despises the bauer and the noble, and the nobles live in their narrow exclusive circle, in which they waste their energies in sighing over an irrecoverable past.

The German lesser nobility—that is, the gentry—are no longer a power in the realm. Here and there in every town they are to be found scattered about in the Government offices, or turning their castles into distilleries of turnip-brandy or potato-schnaps, but still associating and marrying only within their sacred circle. In no country have the gentry been so utterly crushed out as in Germany, not even in France. They have had since the fifteenth century two deadly foes working their destruction—the princes, who were jealous of them, and their own improvidence, in subdivision of their estates among their sons. The princes have trampled them down and insulted them, that they might be left alone on the earth to deal with the ignorant peasantry. In 1848 they felt what it was to be without a class to stand between them and the rabble. Nowhere did the bauer revolution rage more savagely than in Anhalt, where the landed gentry had been exterminated to a man.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAWS OF SUCCESSION.

Orlando. I know you are my eldest brother; and, in the gentle condition of blood, you should so know me. The courtesy of nations allows you my better, in that you are the first-born; but the same tradition takes not away my blood, were there twenty brothers betwixt us: I have as much of my father in me as you; albeit, I confess, your coming before me is nearer to his reverence.

As You Like It, act i. sc. 1.

The earliest conception of property among the Germans attached only to movables. The land belonged to all; but not so the sheep and oxen, they had owners; not so the tent and trinkets, they were personal property. When men were few and the world was wide before them, land was not sufficiently esteemed to be parcelled out. A house-father moved with his herds from a feeding-ground, after it had been cleared, to fresh pastures. But it was otherwise when men settled and tilled the soil. Then the byre—the house and the cultivated patch of land just round it—were held to be property—the property, however, of a family and not of a person.

From very early times a sharp distinction was drawn between real and personal property; land, real property (*liegende Habe*), never belonged to the individual; he had it in usufruct, never as his own; but movables (*fahrende Habe*) were allowed to belong to the individual.

Roman law drew no distinction between *possession* and *property*. What man had in possession, over that he exercised uncontrolled and absolute right. German law never allowed this to apply to land. The land a man enjoyed the possession of belonged to his family, and he had but a life-interest in it.

In England, at the Conquest, William confiscated the estates of those who had opposed his invasion. He granted the land to his Norman followers. But the lands thus granted were not given freely and for nothing; they were given to hold of the king subject to the performance of certain military duties as the condition of the enjoyment of them. The king was considered as in some sense the proprietor, and was called the lord paramount; while the services to be rendered were regarded as incident or annexed to the tenure of the land; in fact, as the rent to be paid for it. This feudal system of tenures, or holding from the king, was soon afterwards applied to all other lands, although they had not been granted out, but remained in the hands of the original Saxon owners.

The feudal doctrine of tenures invaded Germany also, and curiously modified the Teutonic tenet that land belonged to the family, or, more correctly speaking, was itself modified by the latter.

The crown lands were given in feof. The nobles in like manner gave their lands to farmers free or servile. But when once the plough of the new tenant had turned the soil, and his hand had put thatch on the roof, the farm and house became the property of his family under the lordship of the nobleman. The ruling principle of property rights in German law rests on the right of a man to enjoy the fruits of his labour. The bride, in like manner, takes possession of her future abode, by kindling a fire on the hearth, chopping up wood in the stack-yard, and salting the soup in the cauldron. With this principle is bound up another, *i.e.* that man is not an unit isolated in the world, but that he is a member of a family; that the family, and not the individual, is the unit in the commonwealth. Consequently when a man tills the soil it is not for himself, but for the family, just as truly as when the bride salts the soup, it is not for her own eating, but for the household over which she is the newly-crowned queen.

What St. Paul taught as a new revelation to the civilised Roman world: "The body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?"—this doctrine of the Apostle was so thoroughly ingrained in the convictions of the Teutonic people before they embraced Christianity, that it has influenced their whole social development, and ruled their relations to property.

When a nobleman, therefore, gave land to a bauer, free or villein, he gave it for ever. He lost all power of expelling the family from the house and farm in which he had settled them. They paid him a rent in services of various sorts; the bauer tilled his home farm for him, sent his children into service in the castle, paid dues on their marriages, offered a goose at Michaelmas; and so long as the bauer family rendered its services, and had a stalwart son to hold the plough, its tenure of the farm was unassailable. The farmer could divide it among his children, or leave it to only one. He could dispose of it in his family, and in many cases, with consent of his heirs, even out of his family, freely; for by his toil he had acquired a right of property in it, equal to, if not above, that of his over lord.

In close connection with the distinction drawn between the ownership and usufruct of land, is the distinction between property inherited (*Erbe*, Fr. *propres*) and acquired (*Errungenschaft*, Fr. *acquêts*), which came to be recognised in the second period of German legislation. What a man had himself acquired by his own labour and energy, over that he was allowed free disposal, but that which came to him from the family, of that he had only the use during his life. It was not his own; it belonged to the family of which he was a member, to the chain in which he was a link. The same doctrine prevailed in England. By the laws of Canute testamentary disposal of movable property was alone allowed. By the laws of Henry I. this distinction was drawn: "Let a man bestow what he has acquired on whom he will, but if he has bookland inherited from his parents, let him not bestow it beyond the family." Indeed is was not till the reign of Henry VIII. that testators were allowed to dispose of part of their real estate inherited by them from their fathers.

In Germany the right of the family to the land was most closely guarded. Movable property might pass freely from hand to hand, real property never without legal formalities. Women and serfs might inherit and devise the former, serfs could not hold and bequeath allodial land, neither for a while could women. The great-grandfather had cleared a piece of ground, the grandfather had tilled it, the father had hedged it in, the son drained it. One generation entered on the labours of another. The land was made fat with the sweat of generations. It was just that it should remain in the hands of the family which had given it its present value—of the family whose ancestors' hands had planted every fruit-tree, and feet had trodden every furrow. The grandson must not alienate it by imprudence, allow it to relapse into wilderness, leave the vines unpruned and the garners unthatched. Consequently he was always liable to "impeachment for waste;" and the testamentary alienation of allodial land was never allowed. The land was never regarded as individual property. Tacitus, it may be remembered, noticed that the Germans made no wills.[1] The children entered as their right on what their fathers had enjoyed for life. When the Roman custom of making wills was introduced, it was resented as an invasion of the rights of the natural heirs, and was forbidden by the Laws of Rothar.[2] An Alemannic population, that has been secluded among the Alps from the intrusion of foreign ideas, has persevered to the present day in its opposition to testamentary dispositions. In Unterwalden —and I believe it is the same in Uri and Schwyz—to make a will is to this day illegal, and a testator has no power even over his movables and acquisitions. A gift made within a month of decease is invalid.[3] A curious instance came under my notice. A priest in Unterwalden, before his death, gave his old housekeeper the cheeses in his dairy, as a little recognition for her unwearied devotion during a long and distressing illness—he died of cancer in the face. He was dead before thirty days had elapsed, and his nephews extorted the cheeses from the old woman, and made her pay for one which she had disposed of to her poor relations.

In the second period of German legislation, when Roman civilisation began to exercise a powerful influence over Teutonic institutions, testamentary disposition of property was permitted to those who died without issue.[4] Benefactions to the Church were tolerated rather than approved. The earliest wills show by their structure how little reliance was laid on their legality, and the attempt was made to give them that effect which they lacked in law, by an appeal to the superstitious terrors of the heirs. They were weighted with curses as terrible as the anathema that fell on the Jackdaw of Rheims—curses which were to fall on the head and body and limbs of the heir-at-law should he fail to comply with the injunctions of the testator.

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[1] "Nullum testamentum."—*German.* c. 20.

[2] *Lex Rothar.* 360.

[3] It is so in Scotland now. A will is invalid unless a man has appeared at kirk and market after its signature.

[4] *Lex Wisigoth.* iv. 2, 20.

In the reigns of Henry I. and Otto the Great wills were not uncommon among the nobility, but it was not till the fifteenth century that they were made by the third estate. That land might be retained as long as possible in a family, women were not allowed to inherit till all the male descendants had died out. "In land," say the Salic and Burgundian laws, "woman has no inheritance." By the laws of the Angles land passed "from the sword to the spindle"[1] only in the fifth degree. In Denmark the exclusion of women from succession lasted till the beginning of the eleventh century. In Sweden Eric the Saint (*d.* 1160) decreed that daughters should inherit a third, and Birger Jarl (*d.* 1260) raised their share to a half. Among the Anglo Saxons bookland (allodial land) was allowed to pass to a woman, but not so folkland.

But by degrees the "impia consuetudo"[2] of excluding the daughters from the inheritance of their fathers gave way before a just appreciation of woman's position, brought in by Christianity. Wisigoth law allowed daughters to inherit equally with sons;[3] and Chilperic, by edict, in 574, removed female disabilities to inherit in the Frank Empire.[4]

Lombard law was peculiar. Legitimate sons inherited to the exclusion of all others, but were obliged to give a fixed sum to their sisters and natural brothers. When there was no son, the daughters and sisters of the deceased divided, but a portion fell to the nearest male relative on the father's side.

In the Middle Ages land was divided between sword and spindle. On the Middle and Upper Rhine, the sons took two-thirds, the daughters one-third. On the Lower Rhine and in part of Switzerland the sons had a half and the daughters a half; but in Swabia and in a great part of Germany the division was by heads.

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[1] But movables went to the daughter after the son, then to the sister, lastly to the mother of the deceased.

[2] *Marculf, Form.* ii. 12.

[3] *Lex Wisigoth.* iv. 2.

[4] "De terra vero nulla in muliere hereditas est"—*Lex Sal.* 59, 4. Later recensions inserted "Salica" before terra, to exclude her only from the hall estate, the land that went with the ancestral title and position.

As the land belonged, not to the individual in possession of it, but to the family, he could not part with it without the consent of all those who had any expectation of inheriting it, or part of it. In the North of Germany, adelsland, *i.e.* land which had been in the same family for six generations in direct succession, or which had been received in feof from the king, or which had been acquired by exchange for other allodial land, or which had been received as Wehrgeld, was held to be absolutely inalienable from a family. By Burgundian[1] and Bavarian[2] law a man could not dispose of his estate without the unanimous consent of all his sons. In Sweden every member of the family alive was required to give his consent before an estate could be alienated. In Germany dire necessity (*Schiefnoth*) alone allowed a man to sell his paternal acres. For instance, if the possessor of an estate fell into captivity, he was allowed to sell his land without the consent of his heirs for the purpose of redeeming himself. Later, he might alienate, if he took oath that without the sale of the land he could not pay his debts.[3] This was the *pauvreté jurée* of French law. But here, again, the law intervened to assist the family in recovering its ancestral fields. If the purchaser intended to resell the land, the heir of the original holder must have the first offer; and unless he formally refused to purchase, the sale could not take place; and if the heir or original owner could produce the sum for which the land was sold within a year and a day of the sale, the purchaser was bound to restore it. This was the *retractatus bursæ* or *gentilitius*—the *retrait lignager* of French law. As late as the sixteenth century this law was universal in Germany. It was only abolished at the Revolution in France. Mortgage of a property was as inadmissible as alienation, except under the same conditions—consent of heirs or necessity.

These laws applied not only to the land held by the nobles, but to that of the peasant as well, and the bauer clung to his ancestral farm with as much tenacity as the noble to his castle,—with more indeed—the former holds fast still, the latter has let go.

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[1] *Lex Burgund.* i. 2.

[2] *Lex Bajuv.* i. 1.

[3] *Lex Saxon.* xvii.; *Sachsen-Spiegel*, i. 52, 21; *Schwaben-Spiegel*, 312, etc.

But though landed property was thus secured to a family, it was not indivisible. On the contrary, it was, throughout a great part of Germany, divided equally among the sons, or among the sons and daughters in equal or different proportions according to their sex.

The Salic[1] and Alemannic[2] laws speak of the division of an estate among many sons. This was not, however, always possible, especially among the bauers. Among them it was customary to leave the farm to one son, and divide the profits, hoarded through many years, among the others. As the most general custom was for the youngest son to inherit the farm, the elder children were portioned off before the death of the father. But of this presently.

In the Middle Ages there were two codes of law governing the relations of holders to the soil—the feudal law (*Lehnrecht*), and the land law (*Landrecht*). These codes favoured distinct modes of inheritance.

Feudalism demanded primogeniture. An office given by the king could not be divided among several; it must be held by one man. With the office went crown land in feof. The office and lands once given became hereditary in a family in tail male. The eldest son invariably succeeded to both the office and the crown feof. But almost always a crown vassal had also allodial estates in his use, which he had inherited from his ancestors. When he died, his feudal tenures went by feudal law to his eldest son, and the family estates by land-right were partitioned equally among all his sons. The Landrecht did not recognise primogeniture.

In 1036 died Frederic I., Count Palatine of Saxony. His eldest son (not in orders) succeeded to the Palatinate, but his family property was equally partitioned among his three sons. Welf IV., Duke of Bavaria, was succeeded in the duchy by his eldest son, Welf V.; but Welf V. shared the family estate equally with his brother, Henry the Black. Henry the Proud, in 1126, followed his father as sole Duke of Bavaria; but Swabia fell to his brother, Welf VI.

Very often estates were divided by lot.

In the thirteenth century the families holding feofs had come to regard their feudal tenures as inalienable family property, to be dealt with and divided like their allodial lands. And we begin then to find the eldest brother retain the title only, and the lands, feudal and allodial, thrown into one lump and divided among the brothers "æqua lance."

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[1] *Lex Sal.* lix. 2, 5.

[2] *Lex Alaman.* 88.

By feudal law *descendants* alone succeeded; there was no succession by *ascendants*.[1]

German feudal right excluded daughters and female descendants; it instituted a purely agnatic descent.

Rarely were princely families able to have recourse to that convenient institution of the land-right, the "gesammte Hand," to interfere in favour of ascendants; they were, however, successful in obtaining in several instances succession of tenures in tail male to their daughters' husbands.

Leutolf obtained the duchy of Swabia after the death of his father-in-law, Duke Hermann I.; he had married Ida, the duke's daughter, and as there was no son, the feof reverted to the crown, but the Emperor invested Leutolf with it afresh. Again, Hermann III. died without male issue in 1012, and the Emperor, Henry II., gave the dukedom to Ernest I., who had married the sister of the late duke.

Frederic III., Burgrave of Nürnberg, fearing that he should die without male issue, obtained a special concession from the Emperor (1213) that his office and feudal lands might pass to a daughter. The Count of Guelders wrung a similar privilege from the Emperor Adolfus in 1295.

It was quite otherwise with land-right. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries daughters inherited estates, and carried them, as heiresses, into other families.

In the county of Wertheim reigned two brothers simultaneously, Poppo IV. and Rudolf II. Poppo left behind him no sons, but three daughters; and these, as his heiresses, divided the Wertheim estates with their uncle, and each took a sixth of the county as her portion. When the ducal line of Zähringen expired in male tail, the Margrave of Baden, though closely allied in blood, did not succeed to the territories of the duke; they were taken by his daughters into the families into which they married.

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[1] "De consuetudine imperii non succedit nisi filius descendens, imo revertitur feudum ad imperatorem. Sic vidi hoc quando fieri in Alemannia, per proceres iudicari."—*Card. Hostiensis: Summa de feudis* (13th cent.).

By land-right, as already said, no alienation of family property was allowed to the greatest duke or the humblest yeoman, without the consent of his heirs presumptive.

In 1221, Hermann von der Lippe made a religious foundation "with the consent of his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brother's son, and all his heirs." Had one of these withheld consent, the foundation could not have been made.

In 996, Adela, daughter of Count Wichmann, appealed against a religious bequest of her father, because it had been made without her leave, and the Emperor Otto III. restored the estate to her. The Elector Palatine, Ehrenfried, and his wife Mathilda, founded and endowed the Abbey of Braunweiler. Their children reclaimed the land as an illegal alienation, their consent not having been given, and they gained their cause.

As might have been anticipated, the interminable division and subdivision of estates brought many princely and countly families to ruin. They sank out of consideration, and disappeared. The disintegration would have been more rapid had not the wars which raged in Germany swept away so many heirs expectant, and reduced the number of those among whom an estate was ultimately split up. But when the military profession ceased to absorb the scions of noble houses, and the sword to consume them, the consequences of unbounded subdivision came to be felt seriously. Land-right took a lesson from feudal right. One member of the family was constituted its head and rallying-point; to him the estate was made over entire, and the rest of the family contented themselves with annuities, or appanages. But it was not the sword only which had reduced the number of heirs to a barony and county. The Church had been utilised by the nobility for the same purpose. Almost every great house had an abbey or a convent which it had endowed, and which could accommodate the junior sons, and the daughters it could not afford to portion. Cathedral chapters, mitred monasteries, received into them none who were not nobly born. He who would renounce the world must first prove his pedigree. In Würzburg were twenty-four canons and thirty vicars choral; at Bamberg twenty canons and fourteen minor canons; and none could be received into these chapters who could not trace blue blood through eight descents on both father's and mother's sides. In vain did the Popes protest, under colour of love for religion, actually because these aristocratic strongholds were closed to their Italian favourites.

The Reformation led to the secularisation of a vast number of religious houses and the appropriation of their lands by the Protestant princes. These were left, after the first excitement and exultation of appropriation, face to face in aggravated form with the difficulty of providing for their younger sons.

In 1356 the Golden Bull of Charles IV. had subjected the feofs of the electors to the law of primogeniture. Several of the princes of the Empire thereupon established the same law in their families, but it was not effected at once, or generally, or without difficulty. No such law could be passed without the consent of all the sons, and the consent of juniors to disinherit themselves was not always to be obtained.

But the principality of Lüneburg was made inheritable by the first-born in 1356; primogeniture was introduced into the Palatinate in 1368, and again confirmed in 1378. Into Brandenburg it penetrated in 1473, into Würtemberg in 1482, into Bavaria in 1506. In the territories of the Albertine line of Saxony it was introduced as early as 1499; in Austria not till 1587. It was only when the Saxon princely families were seen to be broken up and sinking into a wreck of splinters, that they adopted primogeniture, Saxe-Weimar in 1719, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach in 1724, Saxe-Altenburg in 1715, Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen in 1801, Hesse-Homburg in 1626, and Hesse-Cassel in 1620.

It is hardly matter of surprise that those families which were the first to admit the principle of primogeniture, and keep their territories together, are the only ones which have survived mediatisation. All the others had fallen into such small portions that their independence was suppressed in 1808.

The house of Bentheim had estates of some extent. Arnold IV., who died in 1606, left five sons, who divided them among them. Only two of the six branches now survive.

Duke Ernest I. of Saxony had seven sons, and he saw that if he divided Saxony among them, the dignity of the family as well as its power would suffer. He meditated the introduction of primogeniture, but was dissuaded by his court preacher, who quoted to him the text, "If children, then heirs." But the fate of Saxony, and of the House of Saxony, was sealed earlier.

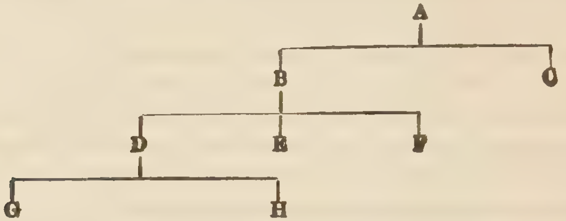
Frederic the Elector left two sons, Ernest and Albert, who, in 1485, divided the inheritance of their father. Ernest took Thuringia, half of the Osterland and Naumburg, the Electorate, the Vogtland, the Franconian possessions of the family, and the duchy of Saxony. Albert took Meissen, and the second half of Eastern Saxony, all of which he left to his eldest son. But Ernest did not introduce the right of primogeniture, and the possessions of the Ernestine line were broken up. Ernest I. (born 1601), who, as already said, purposed its introduction, was one of ten sons; and he left seven—all heirs. The Ernestine line dissolved into Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Eisenach, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Romheld, Saxe-Eisemberg, Saxe-Hildburghausen, and Saxe-Saalfeld, whereas the younger Albertine line is now royal. Had Frederic II. but introduced primogeniture into his family at the same time as the Elector of Brandenburg, Saxony, and not Prussia, would have been the head of the Germanic Empire. The breaking up of the Ernestine line into parcels, patches, pinches of principalities, has been the ruin of a great people, and has robbed it of its right prerogative, the headship of Germany.

The disastrous effects of unlimited subdivision of property are now fully realised by the upper nobility of Germany, and they have taken precautions against it.

There are four modes whereby estates are kept together by settlement:—1. *Primogeniture*, the right of the eldest son, or, in the event of his death before his father, his eldest son, to succeed to the undivided landed estate. 2. *Majority*, the right of the eldest of the near male relations to succeed. 3. *Seniority*, the right of the eldest male relative, without regard to closeness of relationship. 4. *Secundo* and *Tertiogeniture*, the giving of appanages to the younger sons for life; which revert on their death to the family estate.

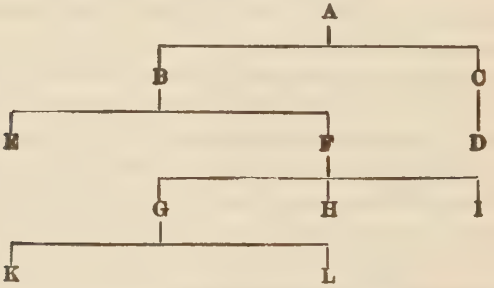
Majority and seniority (*majorat* and *seniorat*) require some further explanation and illustration, as they are not English institutions like primogeniture, with which we are familiar.

I. *Among descendants.*—A is Count of Stolzenegg, leaving two sons, B and C. If D, the eldest son of B, dies before his father, then, if the right of primogeniture be established in the family, the title and territory and estate will pass to G, the eldest grand son of B. But if the law of succession adopted be that of Majority, E, the second son, will become Count of Stolzenegg, and inherit the undivided property. But, if Seniority be the family right,



then C, the brother of B, will become Count, to the exclusion of D, the grandson, and E and F, the sons of the deceased.

II. *Among ascendants.*—If E dies after his brother F and F's eldest son G, then, by right of primogeniture, the county and coronet of Stolzenegg pass from B to K, his great nephew; but, by right of Majority, it would go to H, the second nephew. By right of Seniority, however, it would go to D, the son of C—that is, supposing C to be dead. But if C be alive, then, both by right of Majority and of Seniority, he would succeed E.



The inheritance of an estate by Majority or Seniority has this advantage (!), that he who succeeds to the fortune of the deceased is not legally responsible for his debts, which is not the case when the successor is the eldest son; therefore Majority or Seniority is regarded as much stronger than primogeniture for keeping up the fortunes of a family, and is therefore much affected by the great houses of Germany.

The Count of Dyhrn now enjoys the "Majorate" of Laasan and of Ober-Glogau; the Prince Sulkowsky is also in possession of two, the "Majorate" of Ruchelna and that of Reisen.

Secundogeniture is the giving a life-interest in an estate belonging to the family to a second son. Tertiogeniture is a similar provision for the third son. In the House of Hapsburg, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was an appanage held by the second son, till it was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy.

The German "Fideicommiss" is much the same as the English entail of property. It is a legal creation of the seventeenth century, and is a curious instance of the way in which Roman right was twisted to accommodate German principles of landed tenure. We have seen that throughout the Middle Ages the doctrine was held that land belonged to the family, and that the possessor of it for the time being had only a life-interest in it—a doctrine quite foreign to Roman law. A Fideicommiss now means an estate which has been legally constituted an entail, with succession either by primogeniture or by "Minorat," or by "Majorat," or by Seniority. A Fideicommiss can at any time be founded by the "Familienrath," or family council, constituted of all the members of the family. By similar judgment of the family council, ratified by the board which registered the foundation of the Fideicommiss, the entail can be cut off. The possessor of the entailed estate has little power over it; he cannot sell or mortgage it, and is liable to "impeachment for waste" should he cut down timber excessively, or in other ways injure it in value, or allow it to deteriorate. The Count of Dohna sits in the Prussian Court of Nobles and House of Lords in virtue of being the holder of the Fideicommiss of Schlobitten, Lauch, Schlodien-Carwinden, and Reichertswald; the Count of Dyhrn for the entailed lordships of Neu-Hardenberg, Klein-Oels, Mittelwald, and Reisewitz. The Count of Taczanowo holds his Grafschaft by Fideicommiss. In Germany, in the Middle Ages, the upper nobility had their own code of laws, the Fürstenrecht. Though mediatised, they still enjoy great legal privileges of establishing family laws, which are allowed to have legal force. The family law (*Familienpact*) is passed by the family gathered in council, and it affects everything in which the house has a common interest, as the succession to titles and estates, the marriages of its members, and the authority more or less dictatorial accorded to the head. His consent withholden may invalidate a marriage. I know a case of a member of the upper ten thousand who married a lady not of equal rank with himself. The marriage could not have been solemnised by Board or priest, without the consent of the head of the house having been given in writing; and that was only granted when he had signed away every claim he might have to the titles and estates of the family, both for himself and his son, and undertook to bear thenceforth only his family name, with no other mark of rank than the prefix "von." Should his elder brother die childless, neither he nor his son could succeed; they are cut out of the family-tree legally as well as heraldically, and the title and coronet would pass over his head to his nephew by a younger brother.

The German Bundesact (Art. 14) gives this autonomy and right of passing family statutes to the houses of the mediatised princes and counts. When a statute has been passed, it can only be repealed by an unanimous vote of the family council. A majority of voices can neither make a law nor abrogate one. In France all family pacts are illegal. The House of Nassau, in 1783, drew up a most elaborate code of family institutes, which were ratified and renewed in 1814. But the most remarkable of all was the family code of Napoleon I., signed March 30, 1806, by which all the sovereigns of his family were subjected to his paternal authority and supervision; and it was provided that in case of disobedience he might throw them into prison and keep them there for a twelvemonth.

One institution of German right never took root among the aristocracy; this was the "gesammte Hand," already alluded to, but not explained. Before describing it, it is necessary to review the laws and customs relating to the property of married women.

When a woman married, she brought with her to her husband's house a dower, given her by her parents (*Aussteuer*). This consisted sometimes of two parts, the "Heimsteuer" and the "Leibgedinge." The "Heimsteuer" was her contribution towards the furnishing of the house, and the clothing and adorning of her own person. It comprised almost always the linen. Amongst ourselves an unmarried woman is termed a spinster, because she is supposed to be engaged in the days of her maidenhood in spinning and weaving the linen for her future house. In Germany to the present day the wife is expected to furnish the new house, not only with sheets and towels, but with pots, pans, chairs, beds, and tables. This, then, is the "Heimsteuer," in the sense of her contribution towards the stocking the new home. It means more. She must bring with her clothes and jewels suitable to her rank.[1] The former part of the "Heimsteuer" falls under the law of the "gesammte Hand." It goes into the common stock, and neither husband nor wife can dispose of any article that was comprised in it without the consent of the other and of the children. But her clothes and ornaments belong exclusively to the woman, and the husband cannot touch them. It was thought a thing monstrous and illegal when Count Eulalius, to pay his debts, sold his wife's trinkets.[2]

The second part of the "Aussteuer" was the "Leibgedinge," or the old Witthum. This consisted of a dower in land, money, or stock, given by the parents with their daughter, so that she might not be wholly dependent on her husband for her maintenance. Among the Romans it was thought discreditable if a woman came to her bridegroom empty-handed;[3] but it was thought more than discreditable among the Germans, it was regarded as making the marriage nothing better than concubinage. The German mind was so penetrated with the conception of marriage as a putting together of property, that it refused to allow that to be a lawful marriage where the property was all on one side.[4] "Charles the Bald took Richildis to be his concubine. Now on a certain feast-day he took the aforesaid concubine and made her his wife (*in conjugem accepit*) by espousing and dowering her (*desponsatam et dotatam*)."[5] The Emperor by fiction assumed that her parents had given him money with her; he then before witnesses made a "Wiederlegung," assured her a dower in widowhood, and by so doing converted her from mistress to lawful wife. Till the dower was paid, the children were illegitimate. Sometimes, as in the case of Charles the Bald, the husband provided the dower without having received its equivalent from the parents of his bride. Chindaswind, in 645, forbade husbands giving more than one-tenth of their property as dower, except as a " Wiederlegung," to money actually paid with the bride. When land was given with the wife, it did not come into the "gesammte Hand," but the woman had free disposal of it. In the lay of Meier Helmbrecht we read—

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[1] "Ornamenta propria"—*Leges Angl. et Wer.* i. 7.

[2] Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* x. 20.

[3] Sed ut inops, infamis ne sim, ne mi hanc famam differant
Me germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis quam in matrimonium.
Plaut. *Trinumm.* A. iii. sc. 2.

[4] King Alfred ordered, "If a man allows his son to marry a slave-girl, let him betroth her to him, and provide her with clothes and what is necessary for her maidenhood; that is her *Weotuma*, let him give her that." Without the witthum the girl would be a concubine, but with it a legitimate wife

[5] *Fragm. ap. Duchesne*, ii. 404.

> Full well I know what will be given
> By Master Rupert to his daughter;
> Some sheep, some pigs, a dozen kyne.

When the portion consisted of cattle, they were put into the common stock, and then ceased to belong to the wife alone. It was the same among citizens when the bride brought with her merchandise or money. It was put with, and confounded with, the property of the man, and thenceforth all the property was held with "gesammte Hand," so that neither had power over it without consent of the other.

Among the aristocracy, when the bride brought with her money, not land, then the husband made a " Wiederlegung "—*i.e.* he gave to her the land or buildings equivalent in value to the sum paid to him with her. In 1332, the Count of Montfort received with his wife 2000 marks in silver, and he undertook to build her a castle "as a true and proper Wiederlegung." In the ballad of " Metzen's Marriage : "

> Then Mistress Metzen was " wieder laid "
> With two good acres, thickly sowed
> With winnowed oats, and in the yard
> With poultry-house and fourteen hens,
> And of pennies five pound.

The wife had also as her own the " Morgengabe." This was a sum of money, or a charge on land, or cattle, given freely by the husband to his wife the morning after marriage. It was given only to those who were maids, and therefore not to widows on second marriage. The generosity of the bridegroom was thought on such an occasion to require legal restriction, and the Schwaben-Spiegel lays down the limits of the Morgengabe, which must not be exceeded. Kings were under no control, but princes and barons might not exceed 100 marks in their effusive liberality; the lesser nobility could not give above 10 marks; the servants of a prince were limited to 5 marks. A knight might bestow on his bride his best horse or a cow, money he was not supposed to have to give; but a merchant might bestow on her 10 marks and a horse and cow. A farmer was tied to one horse and one cow, or 10 marks, not both; and a serf to a sheep or a goat, or 5 sous.

When a woman brought with her no portion from her parents, she had only the "Morgengabe" of her husband to look to as her own, as her provision in widowhood. A marriage with only "Morgengabe," and without "Aussteuer," was called in the corrupt Latin of the Lombard laws "matrimonium in morgenaticam," and this originated the name, "morganatic marriage." The wife who came to her husband without portion was naturally supposed to be his inferior in birth, and therefore unequal marriages were entitled morganatic marriages.

A law of Liutprand, in 717, requires, "If any husband wishes to give a *Morgencap* to his wife, when he has associated her to him in marriage, let him do so by deed and before witnesses, her parents and friends, and let him say, 'This is the *Morgencap* I have given to my wife,' that there may be no chance of mistake afterwards. But the Morgencap must never exceed one quarter of his property. It may be less if he chooses." Again, in 728, Liutprand forbade husbands under any excuse giving more of their fortune to their wives than what was fixed by law for "Meta" and "Morgencap." The Franks called the Morgengabe "donum matutinum," and fixed it at not exceeding a third of the estate. With them it was soon confounded with the dower or "Wiederlegung."

The amount of the Morgengabe came in the Middle Ages to be agreed upon in the marriage contract; but it was never paid till the morning after marriage. It was sometimes given in land, sometimes in goods. William I. of Holland, in 1220, gave his wife as morning-gift a water-mill (*molendina aquatica*). Duke William of Julich gave his bride Sybilla of Brandenburg, in 1480, the castle of Benrode, and 500 florins for pin-money.

In the Sachsen-Spiegel, the Morgengabe is that part of the substance of the husband which the widow can claim on his death. It consists of all the hens, geese, cows, mares, and sheep; to the cocks, ganders, bulls, and horses she has no claim. But the widow never broke up the farmyard by carrying off all the poultry and cattle of her sex; she received from the heirs in lieu a sum which was their value.

In Saxony the institution was legally abolished in 1829; it survives more as a tradition than a practice, except, perhaps, among the peasantry of parts of Germany, who cling tenaciously to old usages.

The property of married people was not usually thrown together till a child was born to them, or till a year and a day had elapsed since they were united.

When the property was thrown together it was held with "gesammte Hand" by both together, and neither without the other could dispose of the property; for "Leib an Leib," said the law, and "Gut an Gut." Generally the man had control with free hand over the movables, but his hand was tied in his disposal of the immovables.

During marriage two kinds of property had to be considered—that which was brought into common use on the occasion of marriage, and that which was acquired by husband or wife after marriage. Such was rarely thrown into "gesammte Hand," but remained at the free disposal of the party who had inherited or otherwise acquired it.

When husband or wife died, the division and succession to property differed according to whether the marriage had been without issue (*unbeerbte Ehe*) or with issue (*beerbte Ehe*). According to Old German law on the Upper and Middle Rhine, when in a marriage without issue one of the parties died, then the widower took two-thirds, the widow one-third, of property acquired during marriage (*Errungenschaft*). Such was a statute passed by Bishop William of Strassburg, in 1533, for Egisheim.[1] The survivor could always claim support from the estate of the deceased. This was called, on the Lower Rhine, *Lif-tocht*, on the Middle Rhine and in Franconia, *Bisess*.

According to the usage of Freiburg in Breisgau (1120), of

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[1] "Que les plus proches héritiers du défunt héritent et prennent pour leur part les biens immeubles provenant de la ligne du décédé, s'ils sont encore existans et n'ont pas été changés; mais au cas que les biens ont été changés, ils en prennent deux tiers, et la femme ou ses héritiers un tiers."

Colmar (1293), of Remich (1477), of Lorraine, Luxemburg (1588), Echternach (1589), etc., the woman inherited *all* after the death of her husband without issue.[1]

By Saarbrücken land-right the survivor kept all the personal and acquired property of the deceased for life, after which it passed to his heirs. This was the law also in Old Würtemberg and the towns of East Franconia.

As a general usage in marriage without issue, the movables were held in common during life, and after death all went to the survivor, or were divided by quota among the heirs. All acquisitions in immovables went to the male heirs, but if the widow had received no Morgengabe, she could legally demand of them one-third as her own, in some places one-half; and what was over, and went to the male heirs, was encumbered with charges for the support of the widow. All acquisitions by inheritance on one side or the other went to the heirs, but were charged for the maintenance of the widower or widow.

When, however, marriage was with issue, laws were different. By Cologne right all property went to the children, but was charged with the maintenance of the widow. But by Bern, Freiburg in Voigtland, and Swabian right (in Kempten, Meningen, Lindau, etc.), all went to the survivor, with charges for the children. By Mainz right the estate was divided between widow and children, the widow and daughters taking the "spindle share," one-third, and dividing it among them; the sons taking the "sword share," two-thirds, and dividing that.

When property went all to the widow, the children had a lien (Verfangenschaft) on it; she could not mortgage, sell, or give away any of it.

The law in Prussia is now this, in cases of intestacy:—

If the deceased leaves relatives in descending line, children or grandchildren, the survivor (widow or widower) takes one-fourth

If there are more than three descendants to inherit, the survivor shares equally with the children.

If the deceased leaves only ascendants in the first degree brothers and sisters, then the survivor takes one-third.

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[1] "Omnis mulier parificabitur viro, et e contra, et vir mulieris erit hæres, et e contra."

If the relatives are more distant, as nephews and nieces, the survivor inherits one-half.

If there are no relatives, the survivor inherits all.

In no case can a husband or wife deprive the other by will of one-half of the share which would fall to his or her lot in the case of intestacy. For instance, a man with three children may bequeath to his wife one-eighth of his estate. The half of what she would obtain were he to die intestate is called the "Pflichttheil," and is inalienable.

Modern German law lays down as the rule of intestate succession: "Children inherit equal shares of their parents' estate." But a parent is not obliged to give his child more than the "Pflichttheil." When a parent has only one or two children, then the "Pflichttheil" is a third of the sum which would be given to the child were the parent to die intestate. For instance, a man has an estate worth 10,000*l.*; if he dies intestate, leaving a wife and two children, the widow takes 2,500*l.*, and each child, male or female, 3,750*l.* But he may so dispose of his property that the wife gets only 1,250*l.*, and each child 1,250*l.*

If there be three or four children, then the "Pflichttheil" is one-half; if there be more than four, two-thirds of what would be the share of the child were the parent to die intestate. But if a child marries without the parent's consent, the "Pflichttheil" is reduced one-half.

When modern German law rules the equal subdivision of property among children when the father dies without making a will, it follows the tradition of German land-right from immemorial times. But, though equal partition has been the theory, it has not been the invariable practice.

During more than two thousand years among the Bedouins the law of primogeniture has been recognised. The wealth of the Bedouin consists in herds, and not in land Divided, the herds of the head of the family would not suffice to maintain each son. Subdivision of the movable inheritance, when nothing else prevented, does not take place, for economical reasons. For economical reasons also equal partition has not been put in practice in a great part of Germany. A bauer has a dwelling-house and farm-buildings and an estate. He dies, leaving five children. They call in a valuer, and he appraises the land at 40,000 thalers, and the buildings at 10,000. Each child takes a fifth. One, therefore, gets the farm-house and offices without land, and the others get each a quarter of the land and no house, barns, or stables. I remember a raffle in a village got up by a travelling tinker. There were three prizes—his donkey, his cart, the harness; and tickets were sixpence each. A shoemaker who had no paddock got the ass; the cart went to a lollipop-seller, a widow, who had no shed under which to put it; and the harness was won by a carrier who had a horse too large to go in the gear worn by the donkey. Partitions as unpromising of success are often the result of these divisions among the heirs of farmers. Recourse is sometimes had to a sale. This is avoided if possible, as the German peasant clings to the paternal farm with as much love as the English squire to the estate and hall of his ancestors. What is much more common is for one son to undertake the farm, mortgage it up to its full value, and pay with what he raises on it the claims of his brothers and sisters. This is how it is that so much farm-land is mortgaged. The profits go to the Jew money-lenders; and the bauer scrambles on as best he may, never able to pay off the money raised, and when he dies leaving nothing to be divided among his children. Wherever one goes the German peasant may be heard muttering curses on the Jew, who sucks the fat out of the land, and grows rich on the labour of the peasant whom he is crushing. But the system is to blame, and not the money-lender. It has been proposed, but, I believe, not yet acted upon, that the bauers should leave annuities to those of their children who do not take on the farm. A farmer could pay his fellow-heirs out of the annual receipts; and those who desire to raise capital could sell their annuities. One thing is perfectly certain; the present system is ruinous to agriculture, for the farmer goes on tilling without capital. He starts on his farming without a penny in his pocket; all he has raised on the land has gone to his brothers and sisters, and to the end of his days he is struggling to keep a family on nothing, whilst the profits of the farm are eaten up by the usurer. Till the Reformation usury was forbidden. The idea of capital, as we understand it, was not understood in the Middle Ages. Canon law forbade the taking of usury for the loan of money, and it was forbidden also by land law. Even Melanchthon regarded money taken for the loan of a sum as robbery. The prohibition of usury had one advantageous result—it saved estates and farms from being burdened with mortgages. It is obvious that before the raising money on a farm was possible, the system of buying off the coheirs could not be put in practice. There were, also, economical reasons in many parts which forbade the parcelling of the land.

What was done was this. The youngest son was constituted heir to the farm and lands. The father was always, therefore, able to portion off his elder children in his lifetime, according to his means, extinguishing one after another their claims on his inheritance. Consequently, when the youngest son came into possession, the farm was burdened only with an annuity for his mother. This system is still very widely spread and greatly favoured, and it answers admirably. The father, better than anybody else, is able to estimate the net value of his farm. He lays by his savings till he has enough for the portion of the eldest son or eldest daughter; he then puts the first out in trade or marries the other. Then he saves for the second, and so on till all the children are provided for. In some cases the amount given is not over the Pflichttheil; it is never quite up to the full share, were the estate sold and divided. The professional valuer, as a bauer said to me, puts the full price on the land; the father always values to suit the exigencies of the family and the welfare of the farm.[1]

One great advantage of "Minorat" succession in farms is that the bloom of life and power for work of the heir coincides more nearly with the declension of power and activity in the father than under primogeniture, in which very generally both father and heir presumptive are simultaneously full of life and vigour. But, on the other hand, it has this disadvantage, that no son knows whether he will be heir or not till nine months after the father's decease.

"Minorat," Borough English, is general in the Schwarzwald, in Altenburg, Wolfenbüttel, Oldenburg, and portions of Bremen and Verden, and universal in Westphalia, Grubenhagen, Diepholz, the Emmenthal, and the Upper Palatinate.

In Bremen and Verden another custom is for the father to leave the farm to the most able-bodied of his sons, without regard to age. In Meiningen, the parents conjointly appoint their heir to the land. Their choice usually falls on the eldest or the youngest, according as Majorat or Minorat is the tradition of the family or the custom of the neighbourhood. In some places primogeniture and Borough English subsist side by side in adjoining communities. In certain places—in portions of the Black Forest, for instance—the land always travels through a female hand. It goes to the eldest daughter; if there be no daughters, to the sister, or sister's daughter. This custom dates from a remote antiquity, and is certainly pre-historic. Among some Turanian tribes, and still among the North American Indians, descent is always through the female. A son belongs to his mother's family, not to that of his father. A wise son knows his father, but any fool can name his mother. Borough English is now almost exclusively the custom of the bauers; it has long ceased to be that of aristocratic succession; but German nursery tales, which always make the youngest son the successful and favoured child, the heir to the crown, point to a period when it was universal among all classes. "It is well," said Möser, "to have the elder birds out of the nest, full-fledged and flying, whilst the heir is hatching."

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[1] In North Germany, where farms are not divided, the daughters are dowered not in proportion to the estate, but to the station in life of the father.—*Riehl*: *Die Familie.* Stuttg. 1861, p. 16.

In some places, as at Göttingen, lot decides which son shall have the farm. A very common usage is for a son to be disqualified for inheriting if he be not born on the farm. Another, equally common, is more curious, and altogether inexplicable. In the event of a bauer dying and leaving a widow with a family, if the widow marries again, then the second husband and her children by him inherit over the heads of the children of the bauer whose property it was. She alienates the estate, by marriage, from the blood descendants of the possessor.

When an heir is under age—and this is often the case when the farm goes to the youngest—then "Interimwirthschaft" is a common form of trusteeship. It is usually this: the nearest adult male relative—the uncle, or even the stepfather—throws his property in with that of the minor, and manages them as one. A "gesammte Hand" can only be broken by death. Consequently, the trustee remains on the estate with life possession, and the heir can only enter on it on the death of the guardian. This system proved so fruitful a cause of quarrel, that it was abolished by law in Mecklenburg in 1810, and some other States have since forbidden it.

I have already mentioned the fact that in parts of Swabia the widow inherits and carries on the farm or business for life, and the children cannot enter upon it till after their mother's death.

CHAPTER IV.

PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

> Proputty, proputty's ivrything 'ere.
> TENNYSON'S *Northern Farmer*, N. S.

THERE is no feature in the English landscape so tormenting and intractable to an artist as the hedge; and yet that is the feature dearest to the naturalist—the home and harbour of flower and fern. A painter can make no picture out of a hillside cut up like a chess-board; and the botanist despairs of flowers on the unhedged plains of France.

How came we to have hedgerows in England? and how came they in South Germany to have none? We have hedges because, if the Anglo-Saxons did not bring the tradition with them, there grew up among their descendants a theory of land-tenure and farming which necessitated hedges; whereas the Alemanni, the Franks, Burgundians, and Swabians held a doctrine of land-tenancy which dispensed with them. On the north bank of the Lippe scattered farms nestle among trees with their stack-yards round them, and fields girt about with hedges. On the south bank not a solitary farm is visible, nor a hedge, only clustered cottages, and the land laid out in strips. The distinction is older than might be supposed. Cæsar says of the Nervii, a Belgic people, that "against attacks of horsemen from olden times they have been wont to protect themselves by cutting down tender trees and weaving the branches, so that the countless twigs, interlaced with thorn-bushes and other shrubs, might make a hedge not only impenetrable to the foot, but even to the eye."[1] Cæsar was a soldier, and viewed everything from a military point of view. The hedge to him was a military defence, and nothing more. As a soldier he hated it. Varus did not fall before the Germans in the Teutoburger Wald, but west of it, among the Westphalian hedges.

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[1] *De Bello Gallico*, ii. 17. His description applies exactly to the Westphalian "Knick."

Tacitus says that the people of Germany (meaning the free Saxons whom he had seen north of the Rhine) "do not live in towns. They cannot endure houses in close proximity to each other. Scattered and separated, they settle where attracted by a spring, a pasture, or a grove. The villages are not arranged in our manner [the Romano-Celtic] with united, dependent buildings. Each surrounds his house with a garth, from fear of fire or from ignorance of how to build. They do not even use stones or tiles, but employ a common material without show or value [the Devonshire *cob*] and thatch."[1]

On the other hand, Cæsar says of the Suevi (the Swabians): "They have no private and separate fields," and "none have fixed fields and proper boundaries, but the magistrates and princes in assembly annually divide the ground in proportion and in place among the people, changing the arable land every year."[2]

Tacitus was only personally acquainted with the Saxon portion of Germany north of the Rhine, but from hearsay he gives an account of the Swabians: "The serfs are not employed as ours, on work distributed among them. On the contrary, each occupies his own house and has his own hearth. The lord lays on him a tribute of corn, cattle, and stuff [flax]; slavery goes no further." He adds that the lands are held by the farmers in common, and the fields occupied in rotation. "They change their tillage-land annually, and let much lie fallow; . . . they do *not* hedge their meadows nor water their gardens, and they cultivate only corn."[3]

Here we have a rough sketch of a condition of farming which has survived to the present day in Middle and South Germany, with only slight modifications.

When Germany was first colonised, the population was small, settlements sparse, and there was land in abundance to satisfy every necessity. The requirements of the colonists were simple and easily met, the chase was yielding, the soil fresh and apparently inexhaustible, the rivers and lakes teemed with fish. There was at first no landed property. A family settled on a suitable spot in a valley, by the water—even on the water (*Pfahlbauten*)—where the wild deer would come to drink, and a net let down from the platform would draw up a breakfast. Round the settlement the best soil was broken up, and flax and corn were cultivated. The rest of the land as far as the forest was the common *mark*, where all might pasture their short-horned oxen.

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[1] *German.* 16.

[2] *De Bello Gallico*, iv. 1, and vi. 22.

[3] *German.* 25, 26.

The virgin earth yielded harvest after harvest through long years. But at length it became exhausted, and the crop did not answer the demands of the tiller. Then the settlement was dissolved, the family migrated, and repeated its experiments and experiences on new soil. But in the meantime the family had increased. The sons separated and founded homes for themselves, generally in the neighbourhood of the paternal settlement, and when that moved migrated with it. From the Family sprang the Stock, and from the Stock the Folk. All social development issues from the patriarchal conception of the family; but it is only when the basis has broadened to cover a large tract, and involve a multitude, that the Folk emerges upon the stage of history.

As population increased boundaries were created by the necessity of fixing limits to prevent incessant feud. A cluster of related families formed a "Gemeinde," a cluster of Gemeinden made a Gau or a Mark. When a Folk became too numerous for its confines, the overflow attacked another Folk. If the assailants failed they disappeared; if they triumphed they enslaved the conquered, and assumed the rights and privileges of freemen. Rapidity of growth of populations made migration a difficulty. The land already exhausted was returned to, and found to have recovered itself while left fallow. The only confines that existed at first were those of the Folk. The next to be traced were those of the Gemeinde—the Commune. The parish is the English division, but the German is communal and not ecclesiastical. The Gemeinde was a community of families allied in blood—an expansion of one family holding land in common. The next stage was the distributing of arable land among the householders, and the marking off of each portion as appropriated. In favourable situations families increased more rapidly than in others, and the sons settled near their fathers' hearths. Thus the village came into existence. But where the soil was not rich enough to allow of this—was rocky or sandy—there dispersion was compulsory. In such situations one son alone remained under the parental roof, perhaps the eldest, most generally the youngest; and the rest separated and sought their fortunes elsewhere.

The great swarms of Saxons and Angles who came to Britain and conquered it, were the elder sons of the households leaving the parental hive to seek their fortunes elsewhere; the youngest son remaining with his father to succeed him in the byre and inherit his flocks and herds. We hear of periodical migrations of great peoples. In most cases the migrations were not of the whole race, but only of the sons who could not be supported at home. The Montavun Thal contains a population three times as much as the soil and produce of the valley can support. Every spring a dense swarm of men and girls issues from the narrow gorge above Bludenz and disperses over Switzerland and France. The men work the summer through as masons in France, the maids as waitresses in the Swiss inns. In winter they return to their rocky home with pockets well lined with gold. In early days there was no demand for masons and kellnerins; when the young people swarmed out, it was to conquer or be killed; the pastures of the Alps of Montavun could support at home but one son and one daughter. This, on a large scale, is the history of the migrations of the Saxons, Angles, Franks, etc.

Among the Suevi (the Swabians) the whole Gemarkung, or land belonging to a Gemeinde, remained common property, cultivated by the whole village; but among the Saxons the sons migrated, and one alone remained to inherit the parental house. There was reason for this. On the great plain of North Germany the land is sandy, peaty, and poor. It cannot support a dense population. There must be periodical swarms or devastating famines. But in the South and Middle of Germany it is not so. The richer land allows of the growth of population on it. It admits of extensive tillage. Therefore the poor land instituted the custom of one son inheriting and the rest dispersing; and the rich land nourished all at home with impartial kindness. Thus inexorable necessity established the aristocratic theory of the tenure of land prevalent among the Saxons. Nature herself determined the opposite laws of inheritance which still govern the holding of land in the North and South of Germany: developed in one part the farm with its homesteads, fields, and hedges, and in another formed the village with its common-lands and *Gewannen*; created two systems of farming, the *Koppel-* and the *Hufen-wirthschaft.*

Among the Franks, Alemanns, and Swabians, the communal system was universal, except where the soil was too poor to allow of it. Thus, in the dry table-land of Bavaria, in parts of the Black Forest, and in the Bavarian Alps, we find the close property entailed hard by land held in common and land equally divisible. At first, the whole Gemarkung was the common property of all the households in a Gemeinde. But after a while, as already said, the arable land was divided between the heads of the village households, to be held by them a certain length of time. Then it was allowed to fall back into fallow, and another portion of pasture was appropriated and marked off for tillage. By degrees there came to be system in this change. Large portions of the common land were marked off and allotted for tillage in regular rotation. The land beyond the marks remained common (Allmand or Allmend).[1] At Gersbach, in the Baden Schwarzwald, for instance, the tillage land to this day is all common. Every year a portion is alloted to each village householder who can established an ancestral claim to it, and is by him cultivated for three years; at the expiration of this time it becomes again common property, and he receives by lot a fresh piece of arable land. In the high land on the Hundsrücken and on the spurs of the Eifel, lands are fresh assorted among the village community at intervals of a certain number of years. In the Altmark all the land is common; and the heads of the households assemble under the presidency of the village constable (Schulz) every evening to decide what agricultural work is to be carried on the following day.

Among the Swabians and Alemanns, as the population grew, the time of rotation was reduced to a minimum of three years. The movable landmarks dividing the several allotments became permanent, and every householder received as many parcels of land as there were divisions for rotation of crops—*i.e.* three. Thus arose the three-field system, so universal in South and Mid Germany. After a while the tillage land in cultivation proved insufficient for the growing population; it was found necessary to reclaim more of the common land. The reclaimed portion was again divided into three, and then subdivided among the householders in parallel strips, so that each strip might enclose some of the best and worst sorts of soil. After another long interval there ensued a third enclosure and allotment. Then perhaps a fourth; till in some parishes the whole of the *Allmend* was taken in and distributed as private property. All these appropriations are marked off in long strips, called *Gewannen* or *Gewende;* and as they were made at long intervals and by lot, it generally happens that the strips of land belonging to a peasant holder lie scattered all over the parish. If one were to go into a nursery after a child has been cutting up coloured papers to twist into spills, one would see on the floor, strewn with strips of red, blue, yellow, and green, a map of the lie of fields belonging to as many bauers in a South German parish. But the majority of Gemeinden have not yet appropriated all their common land. They have at all events their forest and pasture. But they have also Allmend, which is in tillage, but not appropriated. It still belongs to all, and has no happy lot. In some parishes it is let, and the rent goes into the common box or vestry account. In other parishes it is given for life to the oldest inhabitant; in others it goes by turns to the heads of the community for fixed terms of years. Whichever way it is disposed of, the common saying holds good, "Gesammt-gut, Verdammt-gut" (common property is accursed property), for it is racked out by its temporary tenant. In Westphalia, portions of the Allmend, there called Vöhden, are given to bauers for from four to six years; at the end of which time the land falls back into common property, and is then so exhausted as to be unable to grow anything. It is bad also for the temporary tenant. Whilst he holds the land he is obliged to have, say six horses. When he gives it up he must reduce his number to two. After a lapse of a few years he gets another grant of common land, and must again buy more horses. Thus there is incessant buying and selling. Precisely like the Vöhden of Westphalia are the Wildfelder of the Spessart, land reclaimed from forest, the Scheffelland in the Eifel, the Torffelder in Waldeck, and the Eggarten in Switzerland and Swabia. Till quite recently it was not unusual in Baden for the common-land tillage to change tenants every three years, and for the Allmend meadows to change every year.

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[1] Some writers suppose the Alemanni were so called from their system of landed holdings, from the "Allmend." This I doubt; I suspect the Alemanni derived their name from being a mixed people of Swabians, conquered Celts, Wends, and Rhætians.

Many villages still have common forest, and each householder in the parish has a right to so many *Klaftern* of firewood from it. Such reckless ruin has been wrought through improvidence in devastating woods, that the various Governments in Germany have been forced to interfere; and now no man may cut down timber that has not been marked by the forester. In their eagerness to be rich, and indifference to the requirements of posterity, the peasants were sweeping away all the forests of Germany, to turn the wood into cash and the soil into tillage.

The pastures which were common land have fared worse than the woods, which have attracted and secured the protection of Government. Common pasture has in most places been reclaimed and appropriated, and turned into tillage. As there are no hedges, and the strips of land belonging to each farmer are not much wider than a good-sized room, it is impossible to feed cattle on them. Consequently, not cattle only, but sheep also, are stall-fed. Stall-fed sheep bear little wool, and their mutton is tasteless.

The abolition of the pastures has made the rearing of crops take the place of the rearing of cattle. Yet, wherever a farmer has cattle and a dairy, he is well off; a bauer with only tillage is always poor, and generally in debt.

As has been shown, where villages of peasant proprietors exist, there the property of each is scattered all over the parish. The further subdivision and distribution of the property is effected by the Suevo-democratic law of equal partition among all children, male and female, common in Hesse, Thuringia, the Rhenish Franks, the Swabians and Alemanns of Würtemberg, part of Bavaria, Baden, and German Switzerland. Yet even there economic reasons often prevent it. Aloft on a mountain slope sits a comfortable farm, with its alps and home meadows, which one son will inherit. Below in the plain is a village of tillers and growers of grain dividing their little parcels into minuter particles among their children. Yet the rich mountain bauer attends the same parish church as the poor peasants of the plain. Necessity forced the owner of the Alpine farm to break through the rule of his race, and bequeath the pasture-land and herds to one son, and send forth the others into the wide world to seek their fortunes. No such necessity existed in the plain, where the land was rich, and a man can subsist on the produce of half-a-dozen acres.

In North Germany the land belongs to the nobility and to yeomen farming their own estates. There we have the isolated farm (*Einzelhof*, *Einödhof*). The lines of demarcation between the two systems—the aristocratic and the communal—can be drawn exactly. The limits, beginning from the north-east, are from the Marches of Bremen along the Weser to Rinteln; from thence over the Lemgo and the sources of the Lippe to Lippe, by Hamme, Plettenburg, Attendorn, Drolshagen, to Siegburg and Mülheim; then the line crosses to the right bank of the Rhine at Neuss, and goes by Erkelenz and Heinsberg to the Meuse. All west of this line the land is held in close properties, and is cultivated by farmers not living in villages, but in their scattered houses, as in England. Every farm (*Hof*) is surrounded by its farmyard and its ranges of fields. Several scattered farms form a *Bauerschaft*, which generally bears the name of the oldest and most honourable Hof. This Hof is first in rank among the farms. In it the yeoman of the Bauerschaft assemble and debate on the affairs of their society—decide on marriages, patch up quarrels, and strike bargains. Formerly these assemblies exercised judicial powers, and could pronounce and carry out capital sentences. It was from them that the Holy Vehm arose.

The decisions of the assembly were called Bauersprachen or Bauergerichten. The head farm was called the Richthof, or Court of Judgment, or simply the Oberhof, as chief farm. Its proprietor bore the proud title always given him of Hauptmann.[1]

It will be seen that the present division of the land in Germany is the result of a process of development reaching back to prehistoric times—a process of regular growth till the time of Charlemagne; but it has been hindered, delayed, and even thrown back during the last thousand years by the growth and pretensions of feudalism.

In Germany it is always possible to distinguish the close farm, *Koppelwirthschaft*, from the scattered divisible properties of the peasant owners in villages. The first exist in North Germany, and here and there as islands—one may say oases—in the midst of other lands; some the remains of free peasant estates of ancient date, others the creation of nobles or the Church, most of which have now fallen into the hands of bauers. Wherever they exist they are conspicuous for superior cultivation of the soil and a better stock of cattle. The land in the hands of large farmers supports, as we shall see presently, fewer hands on the acre, but more in the aggregate.

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[1] See, for a sketch of Westphalian farm-life, Immermann's *Oberhof*.

Peasant properties are almost always broken up into many scattered strips, and rarely lie together.

Villages of peasant proprietors are of three sorts. One sort is a street of houses; such, for instance, as Denzlingen, in Baden, some two miles long. Each house heads a strip of land, the width of the house and offices. This strip is divided into sections. Close to the house are orchard and vegetable garden; beyond is arable land, outside that meadow, and at the verge is wood. Such villages are frequently met with in the Schwarzwald, Odenwald, Oberbayern, and between the Lippe and the Lüneburger moors.

But usually the village lies in the middle or at the edge of the parish, always by the water and where the best soil is found. The houses are rarely built so close to one another that there is not room for vegetable gardens, paddocks, and orchards among them. The orchards round a village, and the cherry-trees along the road, are occasionally common property. The fruit, when gathered, is subdivided among the households. In the immediate neighbourhood of the village is always a portion of the best land bounded off from the rest, kept for most careful cultivation, well manured, and used as vegetable gardens. Outside this is the tillage (*Ackerland*). The whole of this, without exception, is divided into a number of *Gewannen*, each of which also contains a number of subdivisions. The Gewannen vary greatly in length from 30 to 1000 yards and more, but run, on an average, 200 yards. The longer the strips the narrower is their relative width. It is most rare for a single proprietor to hold a whole Gewanne; each bauer has usually only a strip, a sixteenth or twentieth, of the Gewanne in one place, and a sixteenth or twentieth of a Gewanne elsewhere. The width of these subdivisions naturally varies. Some in the Rhenish Pfalz are only a yard wide. I have measured a good many in Baden, and have found them frequently as narrow as seven yards—*i.e.* width in which to turn a plough—sometimes only three yards. As a general rule, the strips are rectangular.

The traveller in South Germany can scarcely have failed to notice the Gewannen parted from each other by footpaths, and their subdivisions by trenches or stones. Except on steep hillsides, where for convenience of ploughing the Gewannen are ranged horizontally, they are generally so laid out as to give the owners equal shares of good and inferior soil. Where there is diversity of soil, great variation in the direction and shape of the Gewannen is observable. When one set of Gewannen falls at right angles on another set, that strip on which the heads impinge is called the *Anwende;* it is that on which the ploughs turn, and it is that, in consequence, on which the best soil accumulates. But as it also suffers from the same cause, it always stands in the village land-book as less than it really is—a fact of some importance in the event of sale or exchange.

Only of late years have roads and paths of access been made to the several strips of land. Formerly the main road alone was kept up by the parish, and right of way across the land of neighbours was stringently ruled. It was permitted only at certain seasons, so that a bauer could not always obtain access to his property.

There are villages of a third sort, which must be briefly noticed. In the Westerwald, for instance, the face of the country is studded with innumerable little villages of from six to ten houses, and from forty to fifty inhabitants, each with its school and church and Rathhaus. These villages sprang up in a very natural way. When fresh common land was enclosed, the new families for whom it was taken in set up their cottage-farms near the "new take" to save having to walk far to their work. In the early Middle Ages the whole country was covered with these little daughter-villages. The large village was a later phase of peasant life. When an old chronicler like Hermann the Cripple relates that "on July 3, 875, the village Eschborn was so wrecked by a storm that every trace of it vanished," he alludes, no doubt, to some such humble collection of half-a-dozen houses. But the feuds of the Middle Ages forced the bauers to flock together for protection, and seek shelter under the walls of a castle or a convent, or at all events of a massive church tower. The site of many an old hamlet then deserted is pointed out. Such are the "wüste Marken," the deserted marches noted in the archives of every State since the fourteenth century. For instance, in the terrier of the house of Wiesenburg, a feudal tenure of 40,000 acres in East Prussia, in 1575, nineteen wüste Marken are noted, and it says: "These villages must have existed in times before mind, as the fields, and even the homesteads, are overgrown with oak and beech three hundred years old." In the Rhenish Palatinate every little swell in the ground was once crowned by its village; now only the names remain to tell where once they stood.

When the dwellers in these hamlets crowded into large villages, they kept their land, but lived at a distance from it. By marriage and purchase they acquired other bits of ground in other parts of the Gemarkung; their children divided the parental acres and united them to other inheritances; and thus ensued the most marvellous distribution of property in patches and shreds all over a parish.

The average size of a strip or piece of arable land possessed by a bauer is naturally very variable. In some places, where they scarce exceed two *Aren*,[1] the owner of twenty hectares (about 50 acres) will have some 1000 bits of land distributed over the whole surface of the parish. Such is the case on the Main and the Middle Rhine. On the Upper Rhine, on the other hand, the average size of a field is from twelve to fifteen Aren; in Bavaria, thirty Aren. In Baden it has been fixed by law so as not to include less than a quarter of a Morgen,[2] or about a quarter of an acre. Elsewhere it is unregulated.

The three-course system of farming is almost the only one possible in peasant communities. In most of them the arable land is divided by immemorial invariable custom into three portions—the *Feld*, *Flur*, and *Zelg*—the winter, the summer, and the fallow field. We can see in almost every South German parish farming as it was when the Gemarkung was first divided up. Century after century has passed, new vegetables have been introduced—

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[1] 1 Are = 100 square metres = 119·603 square yards.
100 Aren = 1 Hectare.
1 Hectare = 2·471 English acres.

[2] A Morgen in Baden is = 0·3600 Hectare.

roots, tobacco, hops—but the system has remained unaltered. The arable land changes year by year in rotation of three. Till the feudal system was abolished, this method of farming could not be altered, as the charges on the land were computed by it. But, though the tithing of the crops has ceased to be exacted, it is not much easier to work a change in the three-course system, so hampered is the farmer by the rights of his neighbours, and the danger he incurs of being sued for trespass or damage should he break the customary routine. If a property does not abut on a main road—and this is only the case with a few—the owner is laid under the yoke of old custom, and cannot adopt a more rational system, for he cannot get to his land except at the customary times. Consequently, continual cultivation is only found in large farms.

The meadows (*Wiesen*, *Matten*) as a rule follow the course of the streams, but often lie on dry soil, as on hills and the rough ground that breaks in upon tillage-land. The proportion borne by meadow to tillage is very important. It varies from 0 : 1 or from 3 : 1. Almost without exception, as already stated, in the latter case the bauers are in flourishing circumstances, and in the former are in debt and in the hands of the Jews. Meadow land, like arable land, is parcelled out.

But the greatest subdivision is found among the vineyards. Of these the majority of portions are less than an *Are*, say ten rods. The peasants possessing vineyards are almost always in comfortable circumstances.

Pasture land is generally common land. But in some cases it is parcelled out in strips like the meadow and tillage. I have seen a whole family watching three sheep and a cow whilst grazing, to prevent their trespassing upon a neighbour's pasture, there being no hedges, but an invisible line drawn between two stone pegs to separate the estates. Such parcelled pastures are common in the Schwarzwald. It is difficult to overrate the waste of time and trouble which they entail, and which they divert from the tillage land.

The average size of a peasant's property can hardly be given. In fertile districts an estate of seventy acres is rare, and a bauer with such a property would be looked up to as a man of wealth. Where the land is poor, it is different.

Anything like a compact farm or estate in Mid and South Germany is most rare. Even where land belongs to the gentry, it is in patches and parcels scattered here and there in and out among the strips belonging to the peasant proprietors. The landed gentry are therefore obliged to cultivate their ground in the same wretched manner as the bauers; and it is only by means of exchange, often at a sacrifice, or by purchase, often above its worth, that they have been able to throw their land together (*Verkoppelung*), and thus introduce a more rational system of agriculture. This is why, in Germany, landed property pays worse than in England. In England the return is 2½ per cent., in Germany it is reckoned rarely to reach 2 per cent. Where land has been thrown together, it is always possible to let it, and a farmer (*Pächter*) is generally glad to rent it, and will pay the rent and make more out of it for himself than he could have made out of his own land, free of rent, but dispersed over the *Gemarkung*. These farms stand out as oases in a desert of bad agriculture. In North Germany, where large landed estates exist, there is no difficulty in making farms compact. In the large farms the soil yields better, and the cattle are of a superior kind; but the small farms support the largest number of human heads. The small holder who has much tillage and little pasture has no capital to sink in the soil; the number of cattle he maintains is insufficient to manure the land. If his crops fail one year, it is as much as he can do to scramble on to the next harvest: if the second be not unusually good, he falls into the hands of the Jews, who sell him up, take his land, and dispose of it at a price above its worth, for small parcels always fetch high figures as accommodation land to neighbouring holders. There is scarce a village without some Jews in it. They do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait, like spiders, for the failing bauer. The usual story of a small farmer's ruin is this. His second ox dies. He cannot plough without two, and he has not the money to buy one. A Jew lets him have an ox at a certain price, to be paid in instalments. When the Jew has thus put his little finger in at the door, the whole fist follows. Just as in England the land of small yeomen gets into the possession of country lawyers who lend them money in hard times, so does the land in Germany go to the Jew. But the Jew never keeps it. He sells it. Where there was wood he was wont to "stub" it up and sell the ground as tillage, but Government has forbidden this, and made the practice penal.[1]

The subdivision of the land is such an impediment to good farming, and leads, when carried to extreme results, to such a dead-lock, that the Governments in Germany have had to interfere at different times.

In Baden, for instance, in 1760, and again in 1771, and in Speyer in 1753 and 1752, laws were passed forbidding the parcelling of arable land below ¼ of an acre, garden ground below ⅛ of an acre, vineyards also below ⅛ of an acre. In Nassau, 1777, tillage might not be reduced below ½ an acre, and garden plots below ¼ acre. By law of 1839 the minimum of arable landed property was fixed at 50 rods, of meadow at 25, and of garden at 15. In Darmstadt in 1834 the minimum of subdivision of bad land that was turned by the plough, was fixed at 400 square Klafter,[2] of good land 200, of meadow 100, of vineyard and orchard 50, of garden 20. In Weimar, since 1862, fields of one acre and meadows of ½ an acre may not be legally cut up. In Bavaria a law of 1834 forbade the subdivision of land below a ratable value of a Gulden (1*s.* 9*d.*) In Delecarlia, in Sweden, a farmer has occasionally 300 parcels of ground distributed over a district four miles square, and only the head of the family knows where they all are. On the Rhine there are peasant properties of twenty acres divided into 120 scattered patches. At Hohenheim is an agricultural college for Würtembergers, founded by Government with the object of raising the character of farming in the kingdom. But it has been found that the pupils will not buy land in Würtemberg, parcelled out as it is, and prefer migrating to North Germany, where they can rent close farms. "What educated man," asks List, "will buy a property broken into a hundred bits in closest contact with blunderheaded, cantankerous boors?"

It is remarkable that in Lippe, where large farms are the rule, and there is not equal subdivision, when the standard of cultivation and prosperity is high, so great fear is felt lest the system general elsewhere of equal subdivision should invade and ruin the principality, that in 1880 laws were passed forbidding the breaking up of large estates.

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[1] In Bavaria with fine and imprisonment.

[2] A Klafter is about 6 ft.

The mischief wrought by distribution has repeatedly attracted the attention of Government, and various attempts have been made to rearrange scattered peasant properties, so as to facilitate *Koppelwirthschaft.*

In 1617, rearrangements of property were effected in a great number of parishes in Bavaria. Fresh rearrangements were made in 1791, 1810, 1817, 1818, 1821–1826, 1838–1860. In 1861 a law was passed to facilitate redistribution of property in parishes; but as such a redistribution could only be made when approved by a majority in a parish reckoned by heads, not by acreage,[1] it has remained a dead letter; for *Koppelwirthschaft* is an advantage to the large proprietor, but not to the little holder, as the scattered patches of land fetch more than they are worth, and the small proprietor keeps a sale always in his eye.

In Brunswick, during the last thirty-five years, "*Verkoppelung*"—the throwing together of properties—has been carried out energetically, and is now nearly complete. In the south of Hanover, property is in the hands of little owners as in Mid and South Germany. From 1820 till 1850 *Verkoppelung* was optional, but since then it has been made compulsory wherever a majority, reckoned by acreage, agrees to it; all small holders not being allowed a vote, as being invariably obstructives. In the Grand-Duchy of Weimar the Prussian system, which we shall presently describe, has been pursued, and the land everywhere redistributed. Since Hesse-Cassel has been taken by Prussia, redistribution has been carried out there with a high hand.

In Würtemberg and Hesse nothing has been done to stay the evil. But the Prussian Government has gone vigorously to work with Hohenzollern and has recast the land.

There are three systems of *Verkoppelung:* the oldest is the Nassau system; the most effectual but most despotic is the Prussian; the Baden plan is a combination of both. It will be sufficient if we describe briefly the first two.

In Prussia, if one quarter of the proprietors in a parish ask for a redistribution, the Government proceeds at once with the rearrangement. In Nassau and Baden the Government will not act till the consent of a majority of holders has been obtained.

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[1] That is, where the owner of one Morgen exercises one vote, and the owner of ten Morgen exercises ten votes.

The Nassau experiment dates from the close of last century, that of Baden from 1856.

In Nassau, when a Parish has to be recast, it is visited by a surveyor and a special commissioner, who take an exact survey of the land. Then the soil throughout is tested and valued, and registered in a graduated scale. When this has been done, every landholder prefers his claim, and the claims are balanced and registered. The surveyor next lays down a network of paths and roads over the whole parish, so as to allow of every proprietor being able at any time to obtain access to his own land. When this is done, the redistribution of the land takes place. Every claim is considered and satisfied. Where there are equal claims, the lot decides between them.

This system is costly: the cost varies from 3*l.* to 6*l.* per hectare, exclusive of the expense of making the new roads; and the plan is not altogether satisfactory. It prevents much litigation, and allows of a farmer breaking through the old three-course system, by giving each man a way to his own field, but it does not tend to consolidation of property.

The surveyor finds that Bauer Bengel has originally ten lots of soil of class A, five lots of class B, fifteen of class C, and so on. When the redistribution takes place, he takes care to give him the same number of lots of the same quality of soil; and as the different qualities of soil lie all over the parish, it is found that after the readjustment has taken place, lands are little less scattered than they were before.

The Prussian system is different. There is a special Board for rearrangement of land, and when application is made to it, it takes the matter in hand in a somewhat despotic manner. A special commissioner is sent down to hear, and compare, and register claims. When the proprietors have made their claims they are no more consulted. The surveyor goes to work, maps the parish and tests the soils. Then the net value of every lot is estimated according to the present system of husbandry. The rate-book is next consulted, and each man's claim is considered by that, checked off and controlled. The roads and paths are then thrown as a net over the whole *Gemarkung*, crossing each other at right angles. Then follows the re-allotment of land, which takes place without any regard to former arrangement, and is simply determined by the net value of the several claims. From this it follows that where claims are equal in amount, one man will have less good soil and more of an inferior quality, and the other more good soil and little poor land.

The object held in view by the Prussian system is the consolidation of property. When the whole parish has been redistributed, staked out and docketed with the names attached to each lot, then, and not till then, are the claimants allowed to express their opinion on the rearrangement. Their objections are listened to, weighed, and if considered well-founded, some modification in the arrangement is conceded. The cost of the Prussian plan is about half that of the Nassau system, from *2l. 4s.* to *4l. 8s.* per acre. That the parcelling and scattering of a farm all over a parish is an unmixed evil can scarcely be doubted. It leads to a great waste of time, labour, and manure. Half a day is sometimes consumed in going from one patch of land to another, and the droppings of the horses and oxen fall on the road instead of dressing the ploughed land.

But the distribution of the land among peasant proprietors is not either an unmixed evil or an unqualified advantage. The advantage or disadvantage of subdivision of property is a difficult question, because it is a mixed one.

The first and most important question raised is, how does the system affect the population? This is not easy to answer. In the case of equal subdivision, or of one son inheriting, and the other children being paid off, the result is the same—a large family is a heavy charge on the farm. A bauer to whom I expressed my surprise at his and his neighbours having only two or three children, answered laconically, "We rear as many as our farms will bear. X—— (a cotter) has a dozen children: he is so poor that he can afford it." The huge families of our labourers are not known in Germany, at all events among the bauers. In France, where the law of equal subdivision prevails, it is found materially to affect the increase of the population.

In Canada,	out of 10,000	inhabitants, there are	4,289	children under 15.
United States	„	„	3,173	„
Hungary	„	„	3,700	„
Scotland	„	„	3,668	„
England and Wales	„	„	3,611	„
Germany	„	„	3,449	„
France	„	„	2,706	„

There are districts of Germany almost as prolific in children as Canada, and also such as are only a little less barren than France. To the first belong the Prussian plain, Bromberg, Marienwerder, Köslin, Posen, and Oppeln; to the latter belong the districts of Upper and Lower Bavaria, Swabia, Middle Franconia, with the Donau circle in Würtemberg and the district of Constance in Baden, and, above all, Lorraine. Curiously enough, the first district is distinguished by its weakness in the number of productives, and the latter by its strength in productives—

In Marienwerder,	out of 10,000	inhabitants, there are	3,980	children under 15
Köslin	"	"	3,914	"
Bromberg	"	"	4,006	"
Oppeln	"	"	3,945	"

Whereas in the South of Germany—

In Upper Bavaria,	out of 10,000	inhabitants, there are	2,761	children under 15.
Lower Bavaria	"	"	3,031	"
Upper Franconia	"	"	3,426	"
Middle "	"	"	3,204	"
Lower "	"	"	3,282	"
Bavarian Swabia	"	"	2,896	"
Lorraine	"	"	2,973	"

But owing to many and various causes, the population may be arrested in one place, and given occasion to grow in another, and I do not think it safe to draw a hasty conclusion that the distribution of property should have affected this great difference. It may be influenced by laws prohibiting marriage without a competence to support a family, such as prevailed till lately in Bavaria, or by the emigration of the productive population.

Riehl says: "Where right of primogeniture among the peasants (*Bauernmajorat*) does not exist, the estate is generally put to lot among the children, so as to save the paternal inheritance from being broken up. Where the law interferes with the right of primogeniture or allotment, there we find the bauer circumvent the law. He will violate morality to secure his end. For instance, on the Lower Maine, where subdivision has flourished in great exuberance, I know a pair of solitary villages, which wage unflagging war with petty parcelling. It is an unheard-of thing in those villages for a marriage to yield more than two children. The communities are rich and thriving, and the pastors preach against the crying evil, but all in vain."[1] Ulmenstein, in 1827, said the same thing,[2] and Autenrieth, in 1779,[3] gave painful particulars of the systematic way in which the population was kept down to avoid the breaking-up of small properties. In France, as is too well known, in marriage contracts it is not uncommon to specify how many children are to be reared. The unproductiveness of French marriages is almost solely the result of the law of equal subdivision. The peasant is under the same desire as the noble to keep his property together, and circumvents the law of the land by violation of the law of God. Mr. Boner, in his valuable book on Transylvania, says: "We have seen how the Wallach population has increased, outnumbering by far that of the Germans. How is it that these German colonists should thus dwindle away, instead of peopling the land with their race? The man of substance could not bear the thought of seeing his possessions divided, and as the patrimony could not be increased to provide amply for each member of a numerous family, the same obnoxious and objectionable causes, which in France check the increase of the population, were allowed to work here among the Saxon peasantry. One child got the house and some land, and the other the remaining portion. Thus each got a goodly estate. Moreover, the Saxon could not accustom himself to give the surplus population of his village to the towns, the sons and daughters going into the world to make their way, and gaining their bread in a humbler sphere. Yet formerly it was not so. In early times the Saxons colonised new spots with the surplus population of their hamlets. There are villages where the population has remained stationary for a hundred and more years. In others, where originally every inhabitant was German, with but a few Wallach huts outside the boundary, there is now hardly one Saxon left. This is the case at Dunesdorf, and the change has taken place since the childhood of men still living. There were, however, throughout Transylvania Saxon villages, whose inhabitants were *not* free men, located on the manor of the Hungarian noble. They were without land of their own, and poor, and had nothing to give their children in marriage, or to leave as a bequest Yet just in these villages the Saxons were blessed with numerous descendants. At Peschendorf the Saxons were all serfs formerly. Here it would be difficult to find a household where there were only three children; and they rejoice that it is so. But at St. Jacob, a free, rich village, close by, it would be equally difficult to find one with as many as three."[1]

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[1] *Die Bürgerliche Gesellschaft.* Stuttg. 1861, p. 68.

[2] *Ueber unbeschränkte Zertheilbarkeit des Bodens.* Berlin, 1827.

[3] *Ueber Vertrennung der Bauerngüter.* Stuttg. 1779.

It is precisely the same in the Palatinate, and also in Westphalia. Certain it is that the German day-labourer has a swarm of children, and the bauer has few, and this is not a caprice of nature.

The subdivision of farms among many heirs has a bad effect on the agriculture. The live stock is deteriorating. The common pastures are now so few, that most sheep as well as cattle are stall-fed. In the valley of the Rhine, from the Dutch frontier to the head of the lake of Constance, and all the high land admirably suited for sheep-farming, the Eifel, the Taunus, the Haardt, the Odenwald, the Vogesen, and the Black Forest, 170 sheep[2] to the English square mile are reared; the average of oxen along the Rhine valley is, however, 430 to the English square mile.

Sheep living in warm stables, as already said, give little wool. The cows are used to give milk, and plough and draw the wain. They are of a poor lean quality. A poor ox eats as much as a good beast; but the peasant cannot afford to buy animals with breed in them. Veal is eaten to an enormous extent in Germany, for beef defies mastication unless boiled to rags. The peasant cannot afford to rear oxen for meat. Their services are needed for the plough. When farms are divided, a couple of oxen take the place of a horse, and the live stock about the yard dwindle to pigs and poultry.

Fallati mentions three farms in a Würtemberg parish, comprising together 152 acres. These farms, a few years ago, supported from 68 to 74 head of cattle. The three farmers died and their lands were divided among thirteen children, and on these thirteen little farms the number of cattle dropped to sixteen or seventeen.[3] It is, moreover, impossible to make the land yield what it can, unless capital be expended on it. The soil is impoverished. It gets plenty of labour on it, but it demands other dressing than the sweat of the brow. It never tastes lime, guano, nor superphosphate. Even the burning of clay is too costly an experiment on loamy soils. Stall-droppings alone restore to it a part of what is taken from it; but as an insufficient number of cattle is kept, and as much manure is wasted on the roads in travelling from one patch of land to another, that part is small. But what Germans do understand is the utilisation of the town soil. That is carefully cherished and distributed over the land within a radius of four miles of the town.

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[1] C. Boner: *Transylvania and its Products*, 1865, p. 272 *sq.*

[2] Rhenish Provinces only 170, Baden 120, Rhenish Palatinate, 69. In England the average is 1570.

[3] *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1845, p. 332.

In almost every parish are a large number of small proprietors, existing on the fragments of a parcelled farm. They have too little land to allow of their keeping a horse or oxen, consequently they have to depend on the great bauers for the tilling of their land and the carting of their harvest. These little holders have to pay high for the hire, and they obtain what they desire often when too late in the season. They are behindhand with their ploughing, and their crops are not carried till bad weather has set in. An English labourer lives in luxury compared to these small farmers, who drag on in squalor and misery, bowed under debt to the Jew who lies in wait to sell them up.

In England, in good years an acre will produce on an average thirty bushels of wheat; in Germany the average is fourteen; in the richest districts and most favourable years, little over twenty. Nor are the root crops good. Nothing tells the tale of how a land is farmed better than the roots. The richest soil in Germany renders roots no better than are raised on some of the poorest soil in England. In England, we clean the ground from which corn has been reaped by giving it a root crop. The small farmers of Germany till and till through the summer to clean the soil, but take nothing from it.

The Tuniberg is built up of the richest soil of the Rhine valley. It is a range of inexhaustible heaped-up soil, the glacial mud of the Swiss mountains coating to a depth of from fifty to a hundred feet a ridge of volcanic trap and scoria. In the hollows, and all along the Southern slopes of the Kaiserstuhl, similar mud (called *Löss*) has been deposited, fine and impalpable as dust—the paradise of the ant-lion, which there makes its traps in myriads. Here the little farmers grow, in succession, potatoes, barley, and hemp, an exhausting course which would ruin the soil, underdressed as it is, were it not of inexhaustible fertility.

On the Kaiserstuhl the little holders went on growing their wretched vines and expressing their sour wine year after year. At last a capitalist by good fortune succeeded in laying three or four farms together. He rooted up every vine, and imported fresh plants from Naples. For three years he reaped nothing. The outlay was great and there was no return. The fourth year he began to realise, and rapidly made a fortune. Now the Kaiserstuhl wine is the best on the Upper Rhine. Small holders are condemned to go on in the old routine. They cannot sacrifice a year's income to make an improvement, they cannot sink any money in the soil, but they will drop into it any amount of sweat.

Mohl, who was no friend to patriarchal holding together of property, complained despairingly of the condition to which subdivision of land was reducing the agriculture of Würtemberg. The little properties of a few acres he called "cancers corroding the face of the country, the health of which can only be saved by heroic measures."[1]

An instance is given of a nut-tree to which thirty persons had claims. When the nuts were gathered, they were parted into thirty lots.

In the Elsass plain, the mean size of a peasant estate is four hectares, from nine to ten acres. "La terre," says Lavergne, "y est littéralement découpée en lamières, qui se vendent à des prix fous."[2] The easy transfer and ready sale for parcels of land has led to speculation which goes by the popular name of "Hofmetzgerei" (farm-butchery), carried on by the Jews. They buy a farm of moderate size of the heirs of a yeoman, who will divide the inheritance equally among them, and chop it up into bits which are sold by auction. Spirits are freely distributed at the sale, the competition becomes lively, and the morsels sell for extraordinary prices. The Jew realises large profits. This speculation was becoming such a danger, that the Bavarian Government in 1852 passed a law punishing it with three months' imprisonment, and a fine of from 100 to 1000 florins. The Würtemberg Government in 1853 was also forced to interfere, and forbid the sale of an estate of more than ten acres till three years have elapsed since its purchase. By Prussian law of the same year, no man can chop up and sell land till he has held it a twelvemonth in his own hands. But these laws do not prevent the racking out of the soil before sale, and they are easily and constantly evaded.

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[1] *Polizeiwirthschaft*, ii. § 99.

[2] *Journal des Economies*, 1856, p. 181.

In England, small proprietors of land rarely thrive, whereas yeomen on a moderate estate get on in life. The reason is that land must have capital laid out on it to make it pay. In Germany, the experience of the bauers has formulated itself in proverbs. "Great estates," they say, "nourish their man, and little ones devour themselves;"[1] and "a divided rood never comes to the fourth brood."[2] The land now produces hardly two-thirds of what it might be made to yield if worked by men with capital. That means, it supports ten men where it might support fifteen. *But* it supports seven men on the land, whereas in the hands of a large farmer it would keep only five in employment. Thus the same piece of land will hold to the soil seven men, and feed three more in a city or engaged on a trade, which under a better system of farming would keep five men on the land and feed eight employed on other branches of industry.

It may be questioned whether the general happiness of the country is not greater by so many being kept to agricultural work, who would otherwise be drudging in factories. But the commercial prosperity of a country and the sum of happiness of the people, I fear, vary in inverse ratio.

The artisan is restless and dissatisfied. He is mechanised. He finds no interest in his work, and his soul frets at the routine. He is miserable, and he knows not why. But the man who toils on his own plot of ground is morally and physically healthy. He is a freeman, the sense he has of independence gives him his upright carriage, his fearless brow, and his joyous laugh. The worker among machinery feels himself to be a slave, a slave bound to a wheel, and this consciousness causes his moral deterioration The serf may love his master, but who can love a boiler? In the town the brain is active. Like the pearl, it grows out of disease in the shell. In the country it lies latent, but muscle grows, and the lungs play like blacksmith's bellows.

The initiative must ever come from the town. The pagani are ever averse to the light, except the light of *ignes fatui.* But the Bauernstand is a wholesome check on too rapid and one-sided development in civilisation. New ideas are given off in the town like sparks, from the clashing together of minds different yet equally hard, but the peasantry are not the tinder which they will fire. The amadou are the artisans.

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[1] "Grosse Güter nähren ihren Mann: kleine zehren sich selbst auf."

[2] "Getheiltes Gut kommt nicht auf die vierte Brut."

To the bauer new ideas are as hateful as rockets in a stack-yard. "One is never too late to learn," said the hag, "and she began to study witchcraft." This is the answer he makes to every new suggestion.

When the Thirty Years' War broke the power of the nobles, and left waste places void of owners, the peasantry spread like a lichen noiselessly over the scars and obscured them. In old Würtemberg, then half the size of the present kingdom, there were left 250,000 acres of ownerless arable land, 40,000 acres of devastated vineyard, and 40,000 acres of unclaimed meadow. The peasantry soon appropriated them all, and there was no one to say them nay. The sovereigns perceived that the bauers were their best support, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries removed one disability after another, till the Bauernstand became the most favoured in the land. The bauer is the great conservative element in Germany as in France. Against him the Government may always set its back. "Gesammt Gut ist verdammt Gut," is his answer to Social democracy.

In 1848 the peasants rose at the call of the political clubs, but not for any political idea, solely for the removal of disabilities. When liberty of the press was decreed, they became suspicious, because the towns grew jubilant. They had their calendars, and who wanted more? When told that a parliament was to be established, they inquired whether it was to consist of cavalry or of infantry. They exhausted their anger on the toll-gates. When they could lay hands of them, they burnt the mortgages on their lands, and were much disappointed that they might not also burn the Jews who held them.

The German soldier is the German bauer in uniform. After having crawled like a maggot about the paternal dungheap for eighteen years, he suddenly appears with wings and antennæ. He is in uniform, and for three years flutters on the parade, in the beer-gardens, in the gallery at the theatre, and then he chrysalises into the old paternal bauer suit and the patriarchial ideas. When the peasant boy is confirmed, he dons a new suit, made very long in the leg and body, and arms and tail. When the ceremony is over, the garments are folded up and put away again, to be assumed at his wedding. He has grown to fit them. So he has grown to fit the doctrines and prejudices and doggedness of his class. He becomes a chrysalis, I said, on returning to the village from the barrack. The soldier's life has been a dream, nothing more; and now he spins, and spins his cocoon for his Schatz and himself and his eggs, burying himself in his domestic bliss more and more, deeper and deeper from the day. The Bauernstand is the arm, the muscle; it is the good heart of the country; but it is not, in any sense, its brain.

CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGE.

HYMEN:—I bar confusion.—*As You Like It*, Act V. sc. 4.

THE reader of "Geier-Wally," if he is at all acquainted with ancient German literature, cannot fail to connect the wrestle of Joseph and Wally in the tavern with that of Gunther and Brunhild in the marriage chamber. The Tyrolese peasantess does not surrender her freedom without a fierce struggle, in the nineteenth century, any more than did the Queen of Gunther in the Nibelungen times. Whoever has attended a village wedding in the Black Forest, and has seen the bride chased by the bridegroom, and knows anything of early civilisation, discerns a relic of the bride-capture of primitive times. The speared bride among the Tartars is proud of her scars, but Tonelli "with the bitten cheek" in the Schwarzwald resented a recurrence to barbarous practice, and broke with her lover for marking her for life.[1]

Marriage law in Germany has varied capriciously within two centuries, but German opinion was formed by more than ten centuries of national law before it was influenced and disturbed by the introduction by jurists of Roman law. Ecclesiastical marriage, which only late became prevalent, throughout the Middle Ages was a matter of conscience rather than of legal obligation. After the Reformation it became compulsory, but in 1873 became again optional, and the Protestant pastors suddenly found that they were no longer called upon by their flock to unite them in the bands of wedlock.

The introduction of civil registration has scarcely affected the marriages in England. In Germany it has produced wholesale desertion of the religious ministration. The board of the Beamter is preferred to the Lord's table. If the Government had not come to the relief of the clergy, who drew a large part of their revenue from marriage fees, they would have been ruined by the change in the law.

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[1] Auerbach: *Dorfgeschichten*, 1er Band.

It is impossible to understand German ideas on marriage and explain this phenomenon, without a survey of the history of the marriage laws of the Fatherland. Such a survey will show us that, however capricious and changeable laws may be, Teutonic feeling on this important subject moves on steadily within its old banks.

Verlobung in Germany is a very different thing from "engagement" in England. In both countries matrimony is made up of two "moments," contract and tradition, *i.e.* engagement (*Verlobung*) and marriage (*Trauung*); but with us, in accordance with Roman law, the last moment is accentuated and contains the essence, whereas among Germans the first is the essential and emphatic transaction.

In entering on the relation in which engagement and marriage stand to one another, it is necessary to define terms. "Trauung" is not what we mean by betrothal, though the words are etymologically identical. We must translate "Verlobung" by *Betrothal*, and "Trauung" by *Marriage*. We do not speak of those actually married as betrothed, nor of those engaged to be married as bride and bridegroom. Germans do both. After engagement and till marriage, the maid and man are Braut and Bräutigam, and when wedded cease to be thus entitled.

It is curious to notice what confusion there is in terms on the popular tongue. Strictly speaking, betrothal, engagement, Verlobung is the *desponsatio*, *sponsalia*, of the Romans, and *sponsus* and *sponsa* are those promised to one another before they are given to one another. But the English spouse, the French *épouse*, and the Spanish *espose*, are applied after marriage, and not before. So, in Germany, Gemahl, Gemahlin, mean engaged by word,[1] but in common use are applied to those married. In Thuringia to this day the people do not distinguish by word one state from the other. Verlobter and Gemahl are used indiscriminately for betrothed and wedded. Originally, marriage among the Germans was simply the purchase of a woman. Down even till late in the Middle Ages "ein Weib zu kaufen" was the common expression for getting engaged. But the first laws which have been transmitted to us show that the idea of sale of the woman was gone; another idea had taken its place—that of transfer of authority. A woman was always under ward: the natural holder of the wardship was the father; at marriage he made over this wardship to the husband.

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[1] From the old verb *mala*, to converse. The German *Maul*, mouth, is from the same root. It is the organ of speech.

Wardship was called *mundium*, and the guardian was called the *Vormund.* Betrothal was a contract of sale between the guardian and the suitor. The purchase-money was still called legally "*pretium puellæ,*"—the price of the girl—but more generally *Mundschatz* (the value of the mundium) or *Witthum.*

These words must be remembered, as I shall have to use them freely.

But the chief token of a change of opinion regarding marriage is visible in the fact that the Witthum was a fixed sum. It did not fluctuate with the state of the market; it was not any longer the price of the girl, like the price of a slave, to be affected by her beauty or bodily vigour. It was legally fixed for all maids alike; it was not her market value any more, but the theoretical value of the wardship; and the authority exercised by father or husband over daughter or wife must be the same among rich and poor, beautiful and plain.

Among the Salic Franks the mundium was estimated at 62½ *solidi*, among the Ripuarii at 50, among the Alemanni at 40, among the Saxons as high as 300 *solidi.* In case of invasion and injury of authority it had to be compounded for, and the Wehrgeld was precisely the same in amount as the mundium. In early times the woman was never independent, she was always under a Vormund, a perpetual ward. The transfer of guardianship constituted marriage. The maid could no more dispose of herself than could a field, for she was never out of wardship. Consequently no agreement of marriage could legally be contracted with a woman alone. The contract must be made with the guardian. All that was allowed her in the sixth century was the right of veto.

Again, according to German law, no verbal engagement is valid without a real transfer. A compact to sell a field or a cow is no compact unless the price has been paid. The courts refused to allow of rights based on verbal agreement (*conlocutio*, the Lombard *fabula*), though signed and sealed, unless there had been actual transfer. Consequently, the suitor was required to pay over to the legal guardian the price of the mundium, when he made the contract. The girl then and there, at the betrothal, became his property; the rights over her became legally his, and he might enter on the exercise of them when he chose. If the bride (*sponsa*) died before she was delivered over to him, the guardian returned the money.[1] Breach of promise could not be made actionable unless the mundium had been paid.[2]

But an obvious difficulty arose. The bridegroom had to pay down the mundium some time before entering into possession. He laid out capital without receiving his money's worth. In unsettled times men could not calculate on receiving their bread again after many days when they cast it on the waters. The object of purchase might die or depreciate. Consequently, would-be purchasers buttoned up their pockets, and the market was glutted with marriageable maids. The law was obliged to tolerate a compromise. Prepayment of the mundium was not exacted, and in its place the purchaser paid a hansel, or earnest money (Haftgeld, Draufgeld), the Roman arrha, called by the Lombards Launichild (Lohngeld). At the present day in Germany, if a servant be engaged, Haftgeld is paid, whereupon she is bound to her master: if it is not paid, she can get off her agreement. This is like the half-crown at English statute fairs, and the Queen's money which binds the recruit. This Haftgeld was exacted at a betrothal to clench the bargain; it was generally spent in wine, whence it took the name of Weinkauf, or was given to the church or poor, and so was called the Gottespfennig. But this handsel did not, like the Roman arrha, strengthen a bargain, it clenched the bargain—there was no legal bargain without it. Among the Franks in the fifth century the handsel had already taken the place of the mundium at a betrothal, and was fixed at a sou and a denier.

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[1] *Edict. Rothar.* c. 215 (ed. Bluhme):—"Si quis puellam aut viduam sponsatam habuerit (*i.e.* betrothed to him) et contigerit casus ut ipsa ante moriatur quàm a patre, aut qui mundium ejus potestatem habet, tradita fuerit, tunc meta (*i.e.* price of mundium) quæ data fuerat ab illo sponso, reddatur ei, tantum quantum in ipsa meta dedit."

[2] *Lex Wisigoth.* iii. 4, 2. *Lex Burgund.* 62.

When Clovis asked of Gundebald of Burgundy the hand of his sister and ward Clothild, he sent him by his messengers the requisite sou and denier.

Simultaneously a change was effected in the destination of the Witthum or mundium. This was to be paid when the bride was transferred to the husband's house—*i.e.* when he claimed his purchase. But instead of being paid to the guardian who relinquished his charge, it was held back to be paid, after the death of the husband, to the guardian of the widow for her support in widowhood. It was thought, not without reason, that the fair bride, who was a delight to the husband, might prove a nuisance as widow to a trustee, and therefore the Witthum was left to be paid to compensate him. The mundium of the ninth century had lost its significance as price for the wife, and won that of provision for the widow.

As, therefore, the bridegroom at betrothal (Verlobung) no longer paid over the Witthum or mundium, but only undertook that it should be paid after his death, he was required to make a pledge or *Wette* (wadium, vadica)[1] that he would do so. Wette is a word derived from the same root as Witthum; the verb is *vidan*, to bind. Our English word "wedding" means a binding, not of the husband to the wife, but of the bridegroom to the guardian; and the betrothal, not the marriage, is the proper wedding. This was so among the Anglo-Saxons from the ninth to the eleventh century, till with the Normans Roman law began to take the place of Saxon law, and upset the relations between betrothal and marriage. In the laws of Alfred and Ethelbert an engagement is called a wedde, a beweddunge; and the betrothed maid is entitled a wedded woman (beweddodu faêmne).

But, according to German law, no promise is binding without a simultaneous payment or transfer. Consequently, when the bridegroom "wedded" himself to provide for his widow, he was obliged to fasten his promise by a transfer. This assumed a symbolical form. With each Wette that he made he handed over to the guardian of the maid a straw, stick, arrow, or glove. This fictitious payment is the festuca of Teutonic law. In Weber's opera of "Euryanthe," Adolar and Lusiart place their gloves in the hands of the king, as tokens that under a certain eventuality they are prepared to surrender their titles and possessions. Without the festuca of the gloves they could not have been held to their promises.[1] It will be seen that throughout the maiden had nothing to do with the negotiation, which was carried on wholly between the suitor and the Vormund. If she eloped with a man of her choice it was no marriage. The guardian could reclaim her, and the man must pay Wehrgeld—*i.e.* the value of the mundium or right over her he had violated, and also might be punished as a seducer. If the girl remained with him, she forfeited all family rights, and could inherit nothing from her parents.[2]

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[1] The English *bet* is the same word.

But under the influence of Christianity the position of the woman improved, and in the Middle Ages the parts of bride and guardian became inverted. The woman assumed prominence, exercised her voice, and asserted her will, and the guardian sank into the background—his voice and will lost importance. Originally the Vormund had contracted her in espousal, and to her was reserved only the power of exercising a veto; now she contracted herself freely, and to the guardian remained only the right of veto. If the veto of the guardian was disregarded, then the woman lost all claim on inheritance through her family.

With this change, however, the form of betrothal remained the same; only the handsel was paid, not to the guardian, but to the bride. It consisted generally of thirteen or three Pfennige—*i.e.* a shilling or twopence with a Pfennig over for the betrothal drink. The ring was in use among the Romans as the arrha, and made its way into Germany, and was often given at betrothal either with or in place of the coin, as clinching the bargain. There was no exchange of rings in those days. One ring was given. Among the lower classes the ring was not so common as the coin. The money was called the Mahlschatz, or agreement money between the Gemahl and Gemahlin. In 1592 the Duke of Mecklerburg struck a special silver coin for use among the peasants as Mahlschatz, instead of the pierced shillings they were wont to employ. This coin, which was equal to three Sechser, bore on it the inscription, "Der Seegen des Herrn macht reich, und er giebt es wem er will." It originated a proverb, "Three Sechser made an old purchase, or bound a couple for life."

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[1] The English word *glove* means a pledge: *gelofa*, *geloben*.

[2] *Lex. Alaman.* ed. Hloth. 54, 1:—"Si quis filiam alterius non sponsatam acceperit sibi ad uxorem, si pater ejus requirit, reddat eam et cum xl. solidis componat eam."

Turon. H. F. ix. 33:—"Quia sine parentum consilio eam conjugio copulasti, non erit uxor tua."

It has been shown that Verlobung, betrothal, was among the Germans the chief act; Trauung has more ceremony but less importance.

Verlobung in law and usage was the conclusion of the contract; Tauung was merely the transfer of the purchased article to the house of the purchaser. The farmer buys a cow and he fetches it home when he has a stall in which to accommodate it; but though he has not entered into actual occupation, he is already the owner of it. This was precisely the view of Verlobung taken by the German race. The betrothal is the *desponsatio puellæ*, the marriage is the *traditio puellæ*, the "gifta" of Anglo-Saxon law, the Norse "gipta," the German "Gabe."

Trauen is literally the entrusting of the maid to her new lord. "The husband is his wife's guardian (Vormund)," says the Sachsen-Spiegel, "to have and to hold as soon as she is married to him (getrüwel)."

In the Trauung, as in the Verlobung, the guardian, father or other, was the person who disposed of the maid, who betrothed and gave her away. He confided her to the troth of the husband. From the necessity of the case, the Trauung was a public ceremony, as it was the transfer of the woman from her father's house to that of her husband. It was attended with certain formalities. As symbols of the authority which passed to the husband, the father handed over to him a sword, a hat, and a mantle—tokens that he was invested with power of life and death, and supremacy over her. The mantle signified the protection under which she had sheltered in her father's home, and which she must now find in her husband's house.

Tho ring or coin given at betrothal to the Vormund was also then returned, as also the gloves or straws with which the Wette had been confirmed.

According to a Swabian form of the twelfth century, the Trauung was performed by the Vogt or Vormund—the natural guardian—with these words: "I commend my ward to your faith and favour, and pray you, for the sake of the betrothed whom I now make over to you, to be her right steward (Vogt), her gracious steward, and not to be a faithless guardian (Vormund) to her." Thereupon he returns the seven gloves, pledges of seven Wetten made at the betrothal, and gives the symbols of authority—sword, hat, and mantle. Thereupon the maiden looks to her husband as her "rechter und gnädiger Herr."

But in course of time this ceremony underwent an alteration precisely as did the betrothal. The woman assumed the place as chief actor, and the guardian's position became less prominent or clearly marked. In the Swabian form quoted, the proper person to perform the marriage ceremony is the natural guardian. But in a Cologne formulary of the fourteenth century, the person to marry the couple is "Jemand," any one chosen by the bride to represent her guardian. He is father by a fiction. In the "Huguenots," the heroine Valentine is married to Raoul de Nangis in the street of Paris during the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by the old squire Marcello. According to German usage and law, such a marriage was sufficient. Marcello was assumed by fiction to be Valentine's father, and, as such, he performed the transfer.

In the metrical tales of the thirteenth century, the person who solemnises the marriage is the emperor or king, sometimes the host: in Wernher's "Meier Helmbrecht," it is any old man "der solche Dinge kann," which we may render "up to doing the job." In the English Marriage Service we see the trace of the same idea. The priest asks, "Who giveth this woman in marriage?" and the father or fictitious father signifies that he does.

Originally the church had nothing to do with marriage. Both espousal and marriage were civil acts. When the priest was present at betrothal it was simply as a witness. He had also nothing to do with the actual marriage, or transfer. That was performed by the guardian. *After* the marriage it was customary for the couple to attend church together; their first appearance at mass was their first appearance in public after their union. In the Nibelungenlied, Gunther and Brunhild, Siegfried and Kriemhild, go to the minster on the morning after their marriage. They make then their first appearance together in public, and are crowned.

In "Metzenhochzît" we have a graphic picture of a wedding among peasant farmers in the thirteenth or fourteenth century: the scene laid probably in Upper Swabia. Young Bärschi (Bartholomew) loves young Metzi (Mechtild), and they are betrothed. Her parents promise, as her dower, three beehives, a horse, a cow, a calf, and a goat; and Bärschi gives, as Witthum, a yoke of flaxland, two sheep, a cock and fourteen hens, and a pound of pennies.

It is then agreed that they shall be married without "scholars and parsons,"[1] *i.e.* without religious ceremony, according to old German fashion, and no yielding to new-fangled ideas. Consequently a great feast is prepared, all the neighbours with their wives and daughters are invited, each guest is given a bucket of beer, and "they sucked and they drank, till their tongues could wag no longer." Then turnips and bacon are produced, and the guests gorge themselves with "hands and beards glossy with grease." Next come sausage and the bridal porridge.

Then follow the flight, chase, and capture of the bride, and she is conducted to the marriage chamber.

As Morgengabe Bärschi gives Metzi a fat porker, and *then*, not till then, the pair go, preceded by the village band of pipers and drummers, to church, where the bridal mass is sung.[2]

It was much the same with another Mechtild in a far higher rank of life, now a saint on the altars of the Catholic Church. Henry I. repudiated his wife Hadburg to marry her. She was the daughter and heiress of Count Dietrich of Ringelheim, and was educated by her grandmother in the convent of Herford. He went to the convent, drew her thence, and conveyed her with all dignity to Walhausen, where he held the bridal banquet. Next morning he gave her the revenues of the town of Walhausen as Morgengabe. In this case the Church was not invited to intervene.

The newly married pair at the first mass were wont to receive the Communion, make an offering, and receive the benediction of the priest. But soon a special mass, "Missa pro sponsis," was employed, with appropriate Epistle, Gospel, and Post-communion. Assistance at the mass did not make nor strengthen the marriage; the union was valid and complete in itself without the religious ceremony; but it was felt, and rightly felt, that so serious a step in life as marriage required a special benediction from heaven.

In the Middle Ages the Church attempted a reform of the betrothal. She endeavoured to make that a public and a sacred rite. She required that betrothal should take place before the priest and witnesses, and that at it should be formally announced what Witthum the bridegroom purposed to give, so that there might be no after dispute on this point. But, apparently, the people did not take kindly to this interference, and instead of giving it up, the Church allowed the two ceremonies to be run together, much as in the English morning prayer, matins, and litany, and communion are lumped, though originally intended to be distinct services performed at different hours of the day.[1]

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[1] "Ohne Schuoler und Pfaffen."

[2] *Liedersaal*, iii. 399 *sq.*

The betrothal took place as before, as a purely secular ceremony, in the house of the bride, and the Church merely rehearsed and published before the church-door what was already concluded elsewhere. In a Ritual of Rennes, of the eleventh century, we find a rubric to this effect: "The priest shall go before the door of the church in surplice and stole, and ask the bridegroom and bride prudently whether they desire to be legally united; and then *he shall make the parents give her away*, according to the usual custom, and the bridegroom shall fix the dower, announcing before all present what (Witthum) he intends to give the bride. Then the priest shall make him betroth her with a ring, and give her a honorarium of gold or silver according to his means. Then let him give the prescribed benediction. After which, entering into the church, let him begin mass; and let the bridegroom and bride hold lighted candles, and make an oblation at the offertory; and before the Pax let the priest bless them before the altar under a pall or other covering, according to custom, and lastly, let the bridegroom receive the kiss of peace from the priest and pass it on to his bride."

We see in this the outline of the Anglican service, which scrupulously follows the mediæval type. The Anglican office is divided into two parts, the first "in the body of the church," the second at the altar. The body of the church was substituted for "before the door" as a concession to the English climate and brides' dresses. The honorarium is not given to the bride, but pocketed by the parson. "The man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed du‹› (honorarium) *to the priest and clerk.* And the priest taking th‹› ring shall deliver it (only) to the man," etc. It is generally supposed that the parson has the right to give the first kiss to the bride. With other superstitions of Papal times, the mediate kiss through the bridegroom has been abandoned.

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[1] This Friedberg disputes: he contends that the betrothal before the church-door was an attempt by the Church to mar the real Verlobung, so as to divest the private contract of legal right, and to run the two parts of marriage together. If so, the Church has wholly failed in effecting this.—Friedberg: *Verlobung u. Trauung.* Leipz. 1876.

But all the first part of the Marriage Service was felt to be a "vain repetition." It was unreal. The betrothal had taken place before as a secular act, and the rite at the church-door was an empty echo of a completed transaction. This was seen by the bishops and theologians assembled at the Council of Trent, and they cut off this first part as superfluous, and retained only the Bridal Mass with benediction. The Church abandoned thereby the pretence of uniting the betrothed, and retained her proper function of bestowing divine sanction and blessing on the union already entered upon. The priest had stepped into the place of the anybody "up to doing the job," and had acted by fiction as the guardian or father. The Council of Trent displaced him, and restored the marriage to its original form.

By German law, we must again repeat, the betrothal was the completion but not the conclusion of marriage. It was the completion of the purchase, but not the entering on possession. Betrothal lacked the positive characteristics of marriage. It was not the taking home of the wife, it was not the transfer of complete authority, it was not the entering into possession of her person and property. But, nevertheless, betrothal was invested with matrimonial rights. German laws unanimously declare the indissolubility of the tie. Breach of promise is the same as adultery, Death, by Lombard, Burgundian, and Wisigoth law, was the penalty on the woman attending breach of troth after Verlobung as after Trauung.

By Alemannic law, the man who carried off a wife was condemned to pay eighty solidi, and if he did not restore her 400 more. The man who eloped with a betrothed girl had to pay 200 solidi, and if she were not returned to her guardian, 400 more. By Bavarian law, 160 solidi was the Wehrgeld for betrothed as for wife.

When King Theodebert let seven years elapse without fetching home his betrothed, popular indignation was so strong that he was forced to dismiss his concubine and "take his bride to him as wife."[1] A Prague statute of 1364 says, "Those are truly married people (Heirezleute), who have been betrothed (gelubet)."

This view was clean opposed to that proclaimed by Roman law. By this latter, marriage consists in the *consensus nuptialis*, *i.e.*, the living together of husband and wife with *maritalis affectio*, intent to regard one another in the light of husband and wife. Marriage is not constituted by any ceremonial act or transfer, but by actual matrimonial union. It follows therefore that by Roman law, espousal or betrothal is a promise (*stipulatio*) at some future time to unite in marriage, but is nothing further. It is the initiation of marriage, but only that.

Canon law in Italy was based on Roman law, and adopted the Roman view of espousals. But when the jurists had to construct canon law to meet the requirements of Cisalpine peoples, they were obliged to accept facts and make the best of them. How to reconcile the two theories of marriage was a constant difficulty. After quoting and discussing certain authorities and cases, Gratian concludes: "From all these authorities it is clear that the betrothed (*desponsati*) are married (*conjuges*)." But St. Augustine and Leo the Great, knowing only Roman law, had taught that the essence of marriage lay in the union of the parties; and consequently that an imperfect union was dissoluble. Gratian tried to harmonise these doctrines thus:—

"Sciendum est quod conjugium desponsatione initiatur, commixtione perficitur—unde inter sponsum et sponsam conjugium est, sed initiatum; inter copulatos est conjugium ratum." In the case of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon, there rose a conflict between Roman and Teutonic law. Catherine, according to the latter, had been married to his brother, because she had been betrothed to him, therefore Henry's union with her was incestuous. Gallican and German canon law was on this point in accord with the Teutonic theory. But such was not the Roman doctrine, as there had been only a betrothal and not a perfected marriage with the deceased prince. A Cologne summary of canon law of 1170, speaking of the two doctrines of marriage, says plainly, "On this question the Gallican and he Transalpine churches disagree."

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[1] *Greg. Turon. H. F.* iii. 27.

The canonists endeavoured to bridge the difference by a curious distinction, purely artificial, between espousals "de præsente" and "de futuro;" that is, they asserted that a betrothal in the present tense was a valid marriage and brought it under German law, whereas a betrothal in the future tense was the Roman espousal, and not binding. A Parisian Summa of the twelfth century says, "The Church of the French teaches differently (from the Roman Church), that if there has been an espousal in the present tense, as 'I take you as mine,' on both sides, this constitutes a valid marriage. Consequently, though a woman be actually united to another man, she is bound to return to the first."

The same Summa says further, "Marriage now-a-days takes place, not according to the (Roman) laws, but according to the Canons." The Canons call a betrothal a "full, perfect, and complete" marriage.[1] Luther in his Tract "Von Ehesachen" (1530), plainly adhered to the Teutonic, popular, and canonical theory. "However bad a betrothal may be," he says, "it is soon settled: no other is permissible, for the betrothal is a true marriage before God and the world;" and further, "An openly betrothed wench (Dirne) is a wife (Ehefrau), and this public betrothal forms a right honourable marriage. Consequently he (the bridegroom) is certainly a proper husband, and as amongst us it is not fitting that a man should have more than one wife, he has no more power over his body, and cannot take another without committing adultery."

As may well be supposed, the greatest confusion reigned in social relations. No abuse could arise under the old system hedged round with guarantees. But the hedge had been broken through on all sides, and every guarantee was gone when the maiden was allowed to dispose of herself freely, and fix her fate irrevocably with a "Ja!" with not a witness by. Here and there, indeed, the Church had attempted to intervene and insist on the betrothal being made before witnesses and blessed by the priest, but such attempts were local and not general. The reader may remember the pretty picture of religious betrothal in Lamartine's "Geneviève," where the bride goes to church in a new gown, which she afterwards gives to the Virgin. But the ceremonial of the Church universally was associated with the *Traditio puellæ*, and the espousal was generally left a secular transaction. The result was that.

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[1] "Ratum, perfectum, consummatum matrimonium."

when the guardian became a nonentity, all control over espousals was lost, all control, that is, over the essential transaction. The Church was called to bless a union, but had no means of assuring herself that this union was legitimate—that the persons asking her blessing had not betrothed themselves secretly to others. As an inevitable consequence, applications for divorce were frequent, on the plea that those married publicly had been previously contracted to others.

Luther thus graphically sketches the confusion :—"It has often fallen out that a married pair came for me, and that one or both had already been secretly betrothed to another: then there was a case of distress and perplexity: and we confessors and theologians were expected to give counsel to those tortured consciences. But how could we? Official right and custom pronounced the first secret betrothal to be a legitimate marriage. So off they went and severed the second marriage, and offered to observe the first betrothal. They had already, may be, ten children in their public married state, and had thrown their property into a common fund. They must, however, part. God grant that the first bridegroom be at hand to acknowledge the claim, but often enough he is already married, and not prepared to cast off his wife to take the applicant to his arms. Moreover, when such a betrothal was secret and confirmed by no witnesses, and the other marriage was public and ratified by the Church, there was a pulling in two directions. First, the woman was obliged, as a matter of conscience, to regard her private betrothal as a true marriage in the sight of God, and yet she was bound by obligations laid on her publicly, and recognised, to associate, night and day, with a man who was not her real husband. No one would believe in the first betrothal, which was known only to God, every one was aware of the other, which had taken place in public. What was a poor conscience to do in such a case?"

Another characteristic passage occurs in Luther's "Table-Talk." "When I was in my cloister many an one came to me, and said, 'Dear sir, I have got a wife to whom I was privately betrothed. What am I to do, dear doctor? help me, lest I despair! Gretel, to whom I betrothed myself, is my true wife (Eheweib). But Barbara, who has since been married to me (vertraut), is not my wife; and yet I am forced to live with her. I may not take

Gretel, as I gladly would, for I am wedded to another, and Gretel also has a husband—nobody knowing that she is my very true wife, save God alone. I shall be damned! I do not know how to get out of this hobble.' Then comes the Pope with his disciples, the jurists, and says, he must stick to Barbara whom he has taken to wife before all the world, but in his heart of hearts must cleave to Gretel, as his true wife, to whom he was secretly betrothed. So he must not fulfil his marriage obligations to either! He cannot shake off Barbara, who has gone to church with him, and he cannot take his true wife Gretel."

The Pope and the canonists were not to blame, as Luther tried to make out. The difficulty sprang out of the altered position of woman under laws framed for a different condition of society. The Cisalpine canonists had done what they could to make some practical working theory by which to govern marriage arrangements, which should not run counter to Teutonic and Gallican custom and law; they had failed, but that was because the two doctrines were irreconcilable.

It was absolutely necessary for some order to be introduced into matrimonial connections. Either the betrothal must be declared a valid marriage or not. Common sense would suggest, If it be, then take precautions that it be not abused.

Luther, as we shall see presently, made over the regulation of marriage to the State; but his own opinion was in accordance with Old German Law; and the Lutheran Church followed him till the eighteenth century, in treating betrothal as marriage. The bishops and canonists assembled at the Council of Trent took a different line. Two things had to be reconciled—German custom and Roman custom. Where betrothal was regarded as valid marriage it should take place before witnesses—that seemed a reasonable provision; and to secure that where German views of betrothal prevailed, the nuptial benediction should not be pronounced over the wrong parties, it was requisite that the parish priest should be cognisant of all betrothals. Consequently, the Council of Trent ordered that betrothals should take place before at least three witnesses, of whom the parish priest should be one. If the Roman Church does not now exact his assistance at espousals, it is because, with the general adoption of Roman law, and Roman views of the relations between espousals and marriage, the necessity for the priest witnessing betrothals has passed away. But the Tridentine fathers made another regulation concerning marriage. They reduced the ceremony, as of obligation, to its original form, a benediction of the union. Where the old forms of rehearsing the espousal at the church door had commended themselves to the people, they were not ruthlessly to be cut away, they were to be tolerated, but not exacted.

The reception of Roman law in Germany created a revolution in the legal doctrine of marriage. Roman law came in with the perruques.

In the seventeenth century Paulus Cypræus argued that the current view of espousals was wrong, that betrothal was not marriage, but a looking forward to marriage, by mutual consent; and that, therefore, a betrothal was dissoluble. He started the ball and others gave it a kick. Theologians and jurists began to distinguish between the *consensus sponsalitius* and the *consensus matrimonialis.* At the close of the seventeenth century the distinction was a favourite theme for the theses of candidates for the doctorial degree. Finally, Puffendorf formulated the Roman law of marriage in his book "De Jure Naturæ et Gentium," which became a standard authority. Bœmer took the same line in his work for Protestant ecclesiastical law, "Jus Ecclesiasticum Protestantium," and, though pretending to found his doctrine of marriage on natural right, he actually followed Roman law. Bœmer completely revolutionised the received Lutheran views.

The new doctrine was accepted by one State after another, and passed into its legislation. The Lutheran Church woke to suppose the religious ceremony was of essential importance. German popular opinion and tradition suddenly found itself at variance with secular and ecclesiastical law. In the Prussian code stood the novel declaration, "A valid marriage is effected by priestly ministration."[1]

The betrothal, which had been slight but strong, like the bond that bound Fenrir, was now transformed into a cord of sand. The word of promise was *vox et præterea nihil.* It mattered not how many engagements had been made before marriage, they were cancelled by the nuptials. Before, betrothals were everything, marriage nothing; now the positions were legally reversed. But popular opinion is of tough texture. It has persisted in considering an engaged couple as bride and bridegroom, in confounding Gemahl with Verlobter, in regarding a breach of promise as a scandal scarce second to a divorce. It allows an intimacy between the betrothed which in England would hardly be allowed; it explains, if it does not excuse, the fact, that so few peasant brides have any claim to wear the myrtle wreath; it accounts for some village customs which we do not care to describe. It accounts for the fact that so little disgrace attaches to a girl who is the mother of illegitimate children. She has been betrothed, and, therefore, married in the sight of God and in the opinion of the public, whatever the new-fangled laws may say. Mischievous Malthusian legislation forbade her being taken home by her Gemahl, but no legislation can interfere with her bearing him a family in her father's house. A few years ago I was in the best inn in the pretty village of M——, a Protestant village in the Franconian uplands. The landlord's daughter, a fair, modest-looking girl, with honest blue eyes, had her little ones hanging about her skirts, and though unmarried, and one of the first persons in the village, felt no shame in being so seen. She was betrothed, but the *Rath* and *Beamter* forbade the marriage, *i.e.* the taking home of the bride, because the bridegroom could not satisfy them that his finances would support a family.

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[1] *Preussisches Landrecht*, Th. ii. Tit. i. § 136.

On February 6, 1875, the Imperial Government carried the following law:—"Marriage is to be concluded in the presence of two witnesses by the betrothed persons severally declaring their agreement, when asked by the proper officer whether they announce their intention of uniting in marriage with one another, and by his thereupon proclaiming that they are legally married."[1] "A clergyman or other minister of religion is not to execute this office, nor to act as substitute for the proper officer."[2]

When the first rocket rushed among the Ashantees, the blacks fell flat on their backs and yelled. The discharge of this law produced a somewhat similar effect among the Evangelical clergy of Germany. They were for the moment paralysed, and then, from one end of the empire to the other, raised a wail of despair. The opening of the registrar offices in England for civil marriages has not materially diminished the number of ecclesiastical marriages, partly because such civil marriages are facultative, not compulsory, partly because the idea of the necessity of a religious solemnisation as at all events decent is deeply ingrained in the English mind But in Germany the effect was very different. In 1876, for instance, out of 100 marriages, in Darmstadt 34·5, in Worms 44, in Offenbach 48·6, were performed before the registrar only. Each of these towns has got a certain number of Roman Catholic inhabitants: in Worms one-third, or 5,000 persons, are Catholics: and these, probably without exception, go from the civil bureau to the church for the sacramental blessing of the priest. It is therefore probable that only about half of the Protestant marriages in towns are solemnised by the pastor. In the country it is different, where religion has not completely lost its hold on the population.

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[1] Law of Feb. 6, 1875, (*Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, p. 23), 4ter Absch. § 52.

[2] *Ibid.* 1ter Absch. § 2.

The new law has placed the Evangelical Church in a position of great difficulty. Luther and the Evangelical Church, as well as the Reformed (Calvinist) Church, repudiated the idea of there being anything sacramental in marriage, any special grace given by the benediction of the pastor. Luther characterised marriage as a purely "secular matter (weltliches Ding)." Brenz, the Reformer of Würtemberg, declared emphatically, "The marriage contract, like all other secular contracts, can be solemnised (verrichtet) in town-halls, or any other public, common, convenient, civil buildings or offices."[1] Luther said: "So many countries, so many customs, says the proverb; and as matrimony or the marriage state is a secular affair, it is not fitting that we clergy and servants of the Church should order or rule anything concerning it, but leave each country and town to follow its own usages and devices. Some like to lead the bride twice to church, in the evening and in the morning, some once; some announce the marriage by calling the banns two or three weeks before; but all such matters I leave to the princes and town-councils to settle and direct as they see fitting—it is no concern of mine. But if people ask for the church and wish to be blessed and prayed over in the church, or even to be there united, it is our duty to accommodate them."[1] The Lutheran view is quite intelligible. There is no violent break with German usage. The Reformers did not originate the civil theory of marriage, they fell in with the prevailing conception of it. When they rejected the doctrine of Catholicism, that the sacramental benediction of the priest conveyed divine help to maintain a Christian union in love and purity, and was designed to raise a carnal connection into a sacred bond, they were logically obliged to fall back on the doctrine that marriage is a mere matter of State police. The Reformers therefore taught that marriage needed no religious service to cement it, but that a religious ceremony might be superadded to the civil contract as a concession to old-fashioned prejudice, as a pious usage not to be lightly abandoned because it was of sentimental rather than of actual importance. Luther accordingly drew up two short sketches of services, which have formed the groundwork of all later marriage rites in the Evangelical Church, and which were themselves constructed out of the pre-Reformation offices. These pre-Reformation services consisted of two parts—the rehearsal of the betrothing at the door, and then the mass, concluding with the sacramental benediction. Luther laid the whole stress in his formularies on the rehearsed betrothal, cut out the mass, but retained the benediction, as a pious hope and prayer expressed by the pastor that divine blessing might rest on the couple.

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[1] Brenz, in his abhorrence of celibacy and his eagerness to couple everybody, taught that maidenhood (Jungfräulichkeit) was an *unholy estate*—"ein unheiliger Stand."

But though the Protestant Church solemnised nuptials, it continued to hold that betrothal was true marriage. In a Wittenberg confession of 1597, the separation of those betrothed was forbidden: "for betrothal is a true, binding marriage concluded between man and woman before God and the world, although the parties may not have been wedded (getraut) and blessed by the priest, as is Christian custom and usage." In the year 1567 a Lutheran town-council informed the Wittenberg Church Consistory that it had become very customary for those betrothed to live together before they were married, and asked whether it would not be well to interfere and prevent, or punish cohabitation. The Consistory answered in the negative: "as with betrothal a true marriage is contracted, and persons thus cohabiting are to be treated as truly married."

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[1] In the Latin version: "Si vero a nobis petitur, ut desponsatos vel ante vel intra templum copulemus, eis benedicamus aut pro ipsis oremus, hoc sane ipsis officii debemus."

The Lutheran theologian Dunte in his "Casus Conscientiæ," in 1634, laid down: "The consent of two contracting persons makes marriage, and the presence of the priest is not necessary." The Leipzig theological faculty, in 1620, decreed that "the consent of two contracting parties, *i.e.* of a man and woman, not already married, having pleasure and love in each other, constitutes marriage," and that ecclesiastical union is a matter not of divine appointment, but of "human ordinance."

A curious instance of the application of this doctrine occurs in the transactions of the Rostock courts in the seventeenth century. A certain Hans Steinmann, citizen of Lübeck, was betrothed to a damsel named Engel, but died, in 1637, before the marriage took place. She thereupon claimed her share of his property as his widow, and her claim was recognised.[1]

When the law on civil marriage was passed, and couples were bound to appear before the registrar, the significance of the Protestant rite was lost. The registrar had joined the couple, consequently the pastor could not do this again without appearing to call in question the validity of the secular marriage. A century and a half ago no trouble or difficulty on this score could have arisen in the Evangelical Church; but the present generation of pastors has been educated under the influence of Bœmer's "Jus Ecclesiasticum," and has come to regard marriage by a pastor as essentially constituting Christian marriage as distinguished from concubinage.

Before 1848, obligatory civil marriage existed only in Rhenish Prussia, Rhein-Hessen, and the Bavarian Palatinate, which had fallen under French law. It is curious that at the great Frankfurt National Assembly in that year, where the Catholic representatives were in force, they raised no objection to civil marriage, having learned by experience that it did not interfere with Church practices.

In 1855 facultative civil marriage was introduced into Oldenburg, in 1850 it was made obligatory in Frankfurt-on-Maine, and in 1869 in Baden. Prussian legislation was more hesitating.

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[1] So in 1637; but in 1757, when Roman law had made its way, the Rostock magistrates made a decree reversing previous practice. "A betrothed person, in the event of the death of the betrothed, may not inherit of the deceased, but the survivor may only wear a mourning dress."

In 1831, when divorce was made easy, and showed a tendency to become frequent, the pastors took alarm. According to the old Lutheran theory that marriage was a secular contract with which the Church had nothing to do, and might not interfere, the pastors were bound to marry all whom the State allowed to contract unions together. But several pastors held that this was a case not contemplated by Luther, or that it was one for which he did not provide, believing that Scripture was sufficiently explicit on the point. Civil marriage was then not possible, except for Jews; and the case of divorced persons seeking marriage became a burning question. In 1831, a pastor in Pomerania refused his ministrations to bless a union which was a public scandal. In 1833 a similar case occurred in Westphalia, and by 1845 there were as many as twenty-five such cases; of these seven had been refused by Gerlach, a Berlin clergyman. Government did not interfere, as it was found that where one pastor was scrupulous two were less nice. In 1844 appeared a new law regulating divorce, and a royal order of January 30, 1846, required the Church to lay down disciplinary regulations, so as not to leave the refusal of marriage to the discretion of individual pastors, and, in the meantime, to provide a flying squadron of unscrupulous chaplains who might be sent about the country and into the parishes of recalcitrant ministers to hallow these unsavoury unions.

In 1859 the Prussian Government introduced two bills in succession to authorise facultative civil marriage, but both were rejected by the House of Lords.

Shortly before the law of 1875 was signed, the Evangelical Church Governing Council (Oberkirchenrath) of Berlin was summoned by Government to revise the Protestant formulary of marriage so as to remove every word which might be taken to cast a slur on the foregoing secular union. The Council had issued a provisional office on September 21, 1874. This defined the marriage by the pastor as the exaction from the already wedded couple "of a vow before God that they will conduct their union till death in a Christian manner and in accordance with the word of God." The form of joining the betrothed was exscinded, so as to give no occasion to the supposition that the Church regarded them as not united till they came before the altar. No promise to take one another was demanded, but only an undertaking to live together "in a Christian and orderly manner." As the preface says, every precaution was taken by elimination and alteration "to remove the impression that the Church regarded the marriage as one still to be concluded—*i.e.* of appearing to deny the matrimonial authority of the civil act." The Cassel, Kiel, and Waldeck Consistories adopted an almost identical form. But the Hanoverian Synod of November 1874 would not abandon the form of uniting the couple (Zusammensprechen). The Berlin formulary met with the liveliest opposition from the "orthodox" party in the Established Church. In September 1875, some six hundred pastors of this party met in conference and formulated their opposition.

But the Government is not prepared to tolerate any ecclesiastical pretensions on the part of the Evangelical clergy any more than on that of the Catholic priesthood. The Hanoverian Lutheran Church has been incorporated in the Prussian Union, and six of its pastors have withdrawn from it rather than use the mutilated marriage rite. In Schleswig-Holstein, in Hesse-Darmstadt, in Baden, there have been similar secessions. In Baden the Oberkirchenrath[1] produced a new liturgy with amended marriage formulary in June, 1877, quite in conformity with the Prussian service. Rings are still *allowed* to be exchanged, and the pastor joining the hands says: "Your solemn vows, which you have given each other before God, I, by virtue of my office, accept as an undertaking by you to lead together a Christian wedded life, and so I bless your union in the name," etc.

If law in Germany has been capricious in the view it has taken of the relations existing between betrothal and matrimony, it has not been less capricious in the way in which it has at one time favoured, at another hindered marriage. In the Middle Ages privileges and advantages were accorded to the married which were denied to bachelors. In Hanover, the Palatinate, and Brunswick, the estate of a single man on death reverted to the

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[1] The Oberkirchenrath or Governing Council is not in Baden, any more than in Prussia, a representative synod. It consists entirely of State nominees—a President, who is a lawyer and Staatsrath, another legal officer, three Kammeralister (managers of the Church finances), and three theologians,—all appointed by the Grand-Duke.

State. Difficulties arose about the property of priests, and the legal faculty at Halle published a decision that only the property of wilful bachelors was to be confiscated, "because through wickedness and levity they had despised matrimony." At Halle only married men as heads of households could enjoy the rights of citizens and the salt privileges. In Brandenburg, law was equally severe on these evaders of the chief duty of man. As late as 1683 the village authorities were required not to harbour young unmarried persons, but to look them up, and, whether citizens or servants, to see that all who had attained the age of twenty were married. In 1722 this law was re-enacted, but the age at which domestic felicity was rammed down men's throats was placed at five-and-twenty. No man was allowed to evade marriage and remain in the land. The bachelor who transgressed his twentieth or five-and-twentieth birthday was arrested, dragged before the Burgmeister and Rath, and ordered to fall in love and marry, at least the latter, within the month, or be cast out of the parish and doomed to vagabondage.

A person of either sex condemned to death was given free pardon and release on receiving an offer of marriage. This custom, which prevailed also in France, has formed the basis of one of Balzac's tales in his foul "Contes Drôlatiques." As late as 1725 this law or usage was in force. A woman capitally sentenced for repeated thefts, in Switzerland, obtained her pardon and discharge on a Swabian weaver offering to marry her. His grandfather had in like manner saved a woman from being broken on the wheel, and she had brought a blessing on the house and family. Marriage in German minds was thought to purge away crime.

But at the end of last century Malthus taught that "men multiplied in geometrical, and provisions in arithmetical progression," and that the State should therefore check marriages, and, where means were not sufficient to support a family in comfort, to prohibit them. The teaching of Malthus was taken up by a shoal of advocates on the platform and in the press; and the German Governments became uneasy and alarmed at the rapid increase in population. Bavaria, a poor land of mountain, sandy flats, and forest, became most anxious to arrest the growth. Laws were passed throwing every conceivable impediment in the way of marriage, making it a privilege of the rich and an impossibility for the poor. Candidates for hymeneal happiness were required to appear before official Boards and prove that they had fortunes which could dower daughters and set up sons in life. They had not merely to count their chickens before they were hatched, but also to satisfy the village vestry that they had barley on which to feed and fatten them. How these laws acted, common sense will tell. In 1870, the pastor of the Evangelical German Church at Paris stated that there were in the French capital 10,000 from Darmstadt alone, occupied as street-sweepers, who had fled their country to escape compulsory celibacy. In 1772, men ran away to avoid compulsory marriage. That these laws should enormously raise the percentage of illegitimate births was not to be wondered at. Bavaria has not yet recovered the demoralizing effect of Malthusian legislation. The proportion now is 13·70 per cent., the same as in Berlin, but it is declining annually. The same detestable interference with the liberty of marriage prevailed till quite recently in Austria and Tyrol, making it quite impossible for a man to marry who could not prove to the authorities that he had a fixed annual income on which a family could be maintained in comfort. Thus, a woodcutter could not marry, for he earned wages in winter only; he might pick up chance work in the summer, but as it is not certain work it counts for nothing—he is not permitted to marry. The morals of a people do not recover the deteriorating effects of such laws at a leap. Prussia alone, of the States of the Bund, placed no impediments in the way of marriage. In Mecklenberg, on the contrary, the Malthusian laws were in full force; the population decreased, and the price of labour rose. After a while the North German Bund followed the example of Prussia, and later these laws were cancelled everywhere in South Germany.

The law of February 6, 1875, for the whole Empire, makes every man of age to contract a marriage when twenty years old, and every girl at the completion of her sixteenth year; but no man may marry without consent of his guardian (father or otherwise) till he is five-and-twenty, no woman till she is four-and-twenty. There is no Imperial legislation to decide whether marriage contracted without consent of guardians is to be held as valid or not, and this question is answered differently in different States. An union without consent of the parents is not legally void in Hanover, in Kur-Hesse, Nassau, Hamburg, the kingdom of

Saxony, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, and the greater part of Bavaria. But a marriage without consent of parents is absolutely null in Ansbach, Baireuth, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, and Solms.

By the law of 1875, only soldiers and Government officials are not allowed to contract unions without special authorisation. "All other regulations which have hindered the rights of persons to contract marriage, except such as are defined in this law, *are abolished*."[1]

We might have supposed that with this "Morgengabe" of the Imperial Chancellor to United Germany, marriages would have increased. But this has not been the case. There has, on the contrary, been a steady decrease, whilst the population has grown. Whereas, in 1872, there were in Germany 423,900 marriages, with a population of 41,058,780, in 1876 there were only 366,912 marriages, with a population of 42,752,555. In Berlin alone, in one year, there has been a falling off to the number of 2,435.[2]

The decline in number is due partly to the stagnation in trade, but chiefly to universal military service. Every man is now a soldier with the colours from the age of twenty for three years, and then in the Reserve for four years longer. Thus he cannot begin to work for his livelihood till he is twenty-three, and then for four years longer he is hampered with military drills for two months out of the twelve.[3]

What has been given with one hand has been withdrawn with the other. The first and best years of a man's life are taken from him, and it is rarely possible for him now to found a household before he is forty. Universal military service is Malthusian legislation under another form and another name: it is equally ruinous to the welfare of a country. Prosperity is to be found in burying the dragon's teeth that men may spring up, not in rooting men out of the soil and converting them into murderous fangs.

There is one point on which a word must be said before the subject of German marriages is dismissed, viz. the effect on morality of the absence of the religious element in marriage. From the earliest period in Germany, as has been shown, marriage was regarded solely as a civil contract, no more demanding religious sanction than the sale and transfer of a cow. The Roman conception of matrimony was less gross and mercantile. The bond was regarded as sacred, as hallowed by the gods. Throughout the Middle Ages the Church fought hard to place marriage on a better footing, to spiritualise a traffic in flesh. But the resistance on the part of the people was stubborn. In the capitulary of Pepin the Little (A.D. 755) no mention is made of any religious ceremony as requisite for hallowing and confirming a marriage. This the Carlovingians recommended, but did not require. Even so late as 1043, at the marriage of the Emperor, Henry III., the clergy assisted merely as guests and witnesses. In the twelfth century, bishops and councils forbade the performance of the marriage ceremony by laymen. It was not till the thirteenth century that formularies for marriage were introduced and became customary. The Reformation broke out when opinion was in a state of transition. The old view of marriage as a secular transaction held its ground, but side by side with it was growing up an ecclesiastical theory of marriage as a religious union, which treated an unblessed union as concubinage.

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[1] 3ter Absch. § 39. The law forbids unions between blood-relations, between guardians and their wards, between those divorced for adultery and the persons with whom it was committed.

[2] In 1875 there were 14,528, in 1876, only 12,093.

[3] In Westphalia, Hanover, and Schleswig-Holstein, military service is from the 21st to the 29th year.

It was perhaps inevitable that Luther should adopt the former view; his appeal was to German law, feeling, and tradition against every foreign importation. In the heat of controversy and the intoxication of passion, he did not sufficiently discriminate between what was good, though un-German, and what was objectionable. When he laid down with his fist, "Die Ehe gehet die Kirche nichts an, ist ausser derselben, ein zeitlich, weltlich Ding, darumb gehöret sie für die Oberheit," he summed up the stolid German opposition of two centuries. Since the Reformation till the introduction of Roman law, and the treatise of Puffendorf, Evangelicals (Lutherans) and Reformed (Calvinists) alike regarded marriage as a mere civil transaction.

The Catholic Church received a check in her work of moulding opinion in Germany. She lost her hold over a large part of the empire. But where she retained her grasp, there she never ceased to labour at the remodelling of popular opinion on the matter of marriage. If cast iron be hammered at long enough it will become fibrous and flexible. So it is with the most crystalline public opinion. It has been so with popular notions about marriage in the parts of Germany still Roman Catholic; there they do not differ from those in France or in England. Thus, where two villages adjoin, one Catholic, the other Protestant, we find a strict and a lax opinion side by side. The Protestant Church now is as urgent as the Catholic to discountenance illegitimacy, but it is only for the last century that it has taken this line, since it has adopted the Roman law on marriage.

The inevitable result of the laxity of dealing with marriage by the Protestant Church has been a corresponding laxity of morals. Thus, throughout Germany the statistics of illegitimacy show a much higher rate among the Protestants than among the Catholics.[1] For instance:—

Province of	Prussia (Prot.)	illegitimate births are	9·0	per 100.
„	Brandenburg (Prot.)	„	10·9	„
„	Pomerania (Prot.)	„	10·0	„
„	Schleswig-Holstein (Prot.)	„	9·6	„
„	Westphalia (Cath.)	„	2·7	„
„	Rhineland (Cath.)	„	3·0	„

So, also, in the towns that can be compared as almost exclusively Catholic or Protestant:—

Berlin (Prot.)	illegitimate births are	13·5	per 100.
Magdeburg (Prot.)	„	9·6	„
Hanover (Prot.)	„	8·9	„
Coblenz (Cath.)	„	2·7	„
Aix-la-Chapelle (Cath.)	„	2·2	„
Trèves (Cath.)	„	2·3	„

In Thuringa, where the population is wholly Evangelical, the average of illegitimate births in the towns is 12·0;[2] at Altenburg 14·5, Coburg 12·8, Hildburghausen 10·8, Weimar 8·8.[3]

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[1] From *Statistik des Deutsch. Reichs*, 1876.

[2] At Jena in Thuringa the annual number of illegitimate children is only slightly under that of legitimate children. In the year 1866, there were 156 legitimate births, and 161 illegitimate. In 1871, the legitimate were 145, the illegitimate 115. At Jena is a lying-in-hospital, which helps to make the percentage 45 per cent. At Freiburg im B. is also one, and there it raises the proportion to 19 per cent. But in this case, though the town is Catholic, the population round it is mixed, Catholic two-thirds and Protestant one-third. I was told there also, that several cases came from Basle.

[3] *Jahrbücher für National. Oekonomie u. Statistik*, 1875.

This difference in morality, it must be remembered, is due, not to one Church having a higher ethic code and greater influence than the other, but to the fact that one has persisted too long in adhesion to German law on marriage, when circumstances were altered making such adhesions injurious to morality.

If marriage be a mere civil contract, then that contract may be dissolved and a fresh one entered into without scandal. This is an obvious deduction, and has been drawn in Germany. The civil board which binds together can dissolve the tie, and dissolve it for the most trivial reasons. Yet the percentage of divorce is not as high as might be expected. The actual number of divorced persons of both sexes in Germany at the census of December 1, 1871, was only 69,794. Out of 10,000 persons over the age of 15 there are in Prussia 30 divorced, in Saxony 37, in Würtemberg 32, in Bavaria 11, and in Baden 10. The reason of the average being no higher is that divorces are almost wholly among the Protestants, and amongst them are confined to the citizen, professional, and noble classes, whereas the peasantry rarely resort to the board for a divorce. It is due also to the fact that the number of those who return themselves as divorced at a census does not represent half of those who have been divorced. As a general rule two-thirds of those who get divorced marry again. Consequently the average for Prussia should be 90 in 10,000, instead of 30. In Transylvania it is said that, among the German Lutherans two out of every three girls who get married are divorced before the end of the year, and that most married women have had three husbands. Mr. Boner says: "Among the Saxon peasantry a wife or a husband is a thing which may for convenience sake be put aside or changed at pleasure. Divorce is a thing of such every-day occurrence, is decided on so lightly and allowed so easily, that it has become a marked feature—indeed, a component part of—Saxon rural life. A separation of husband and wife after three, four, or even six weeks' marriage is nothing rare or strange; and the woman divorced will often want six or eight months of being sixteen. Among a portion of the Saxons, marriage may almost be said to be a merely temporary arrangement between two contracting parties: very frequently neither expects it to last long, and may have resolved that it shall not. In the village near the Kochel, sixteen marriages took place in one year: at the end of twelve months only six of the contracting parties were still living together. In the place where I write this, there are at this moment eleven bridal pairs intending to celebrate their wedding a fortnight hence. Of these eleven, the schoolmaster observed that there would probably not be many living together by this time next year. The clergyman, too, was of opinion that before long many would come to him with grounds for a separation. Divorce is easy, and belongs so intimately to married life, that even before the wedding it is talked of, and, under certain probable eventualities, looked forward to as consequent on the approaching union. 'Try to like him,' says the father to the girl, 'and if later you find you can't do it, I will have you separated.' In the village where I was staying, five suits for separation were pending; indeed, such cases are always going on. I have talked over this crying evil with the Saxon clergy, and from these have learned how futile the causes generally were. One husband did not believe what his wife had said, and she immediately wanted to be separated, as 'she could not live with a man who would not trust her.' Another did not eat his dinner with appetite. 'Oh,' said his wife, 'it seems my cooking does not please you, if I cannot satisfy you,' etc. The chief cause of complaint of another husband, whose pretty young wife I frequently saw at her father's house, was, that she had washed some linen again after his mother had already washed it, and that was an insult to his mother." Mr. Boner says of Hungary: "In a Hungarian town of somewhat more than 4,000 inhabitants, there were pending, in 1862, no less than 171 divorce suits. All these were among the Calvinist population."[1] In Denmark divorce is much more common than in Germany. From what I have seen and heard I fear that morals are at a terribly low ebb in the peninsula and its islands. Out of 10,000 persons in Germany over 15 years old, 26 are divorced; in Denmark 50; in Hungary 44; in Switzerland (exclusively among the Zuinglians and Calvinists) 47;[2] in Catholic Austria there are only 4·8.[3] At Hamburg, out of the adult population, there are 70 divorced persons out of 10,000 remaining unmarried at the census of 1871, in Bremen 38, in Leipzig 48. On the other hand, in the purely Catholic towns, as Trèves, there are only 7, at Cologne 9, at Münster 9. The Statistical Report of the Government, published in 1872, says: "The connection between the relative proportion of divorced and the religious confessions is unmistakable. In the specially Evangelical districts divorces are frequent, in the strictly Catholic districts they are rare." In the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, especially Vaud, divorce is almost as frequent as among the Saxons in Transylvania. A friend who lived in Vaud has told me how he has sat down at table with a party, four gentlemen with their four wives, each of whom had been the wife of one of the others. They met without the slightest restraint, and as the best of friends. It has not come to this yet in Germany; not, at least, in the South. Divorces are most frequent in the North. In 1877, in a town of South Germany, with a population of 25,000 inhabitants (2,500 Protestants), there were 7 divorces, all either among the Protestants, or in cases of mixed marriages, and 245 marriages; or about 3 per cent. of the marriages end in separation.

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[1] C. Boner: *Transylvania, its Products and People.* London, 1865, pp. 483, 496, 503.

[2] The proportion to the Protestant population is 90 out of 10,000.

[3] The statistics are taken from those published by the German Imperial Government in the *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs.*

Altogether the present condition of morals in Germany is such as to impress one with the danger of dissociating the idea of marriage from religion. Where passion and temptation are strong, and the tie is regarded as a mere business contract, there passion will have its way, as every new temptation arises. It may be questioned whether it is any gain to virtue or society that the iron rivets of the law should hold together those who have discovered the utter incompatibility of their tempers and habits. But it is a danger to society when the marriage bond is made so easy of rupture, that marriage becomes a joining of hands and down the middle and up again, as in a country-dance, with ever changing partners. The economy of nature demands paramount care to be extended to the protection of the child, and natural religion requires that the sanctity of home shall surround and hallow the nursery. But how can that be called a home where the husband and the father are not necessarily one, and that sacred where marriage is treated as a mere civil contract? Divorce laws should be the thorny burrs protecting the child, and preserving a home and training for it. If it were not for children, law and social customs would be sufficient to guarantee order. The foundations of the State are laid in the family, and not in the individual, and the first care of the State should be to hedge round that plural unit. The strength of a country does not lie in its great armies, but in its multitudes of householders, each a rootlet clinging to the soil, and capable of infinite multiplication. We may hesitate whether that nation is advancing in a right direction, and giving great promise of a future, where marriages are steadily on the decline, and divorces are becoming more common and shameless.

CHAPTER VI.

WOMEN.

> Das ewig Weibliche zieht uns hinan.
>
> GOETHE, *Faust*, part 2.

THE French poet Diderot said once, "He who would write about women should dip his pen in rainbow-dye and powder his lines with the gold-dust of butterflies' wings." I venture to think that this does not apply to German women. I am sure that women needing such a material for their description would not deserve description.

Hertha—the earth—was the goddess of the old Teutons. But the earth is fair and fruitful in summer, and rigid and remorseless in winter. So the Germans fabled of two goddesses, the one loving, pitying, motherly; the other hard, repelling, murderous. A peasant woman was sick, and she had a little babe that wailed for the food she could not give it. Then, in the night, there shone a glory in the cottage chamber, and in the midst of the light was a beautiful woman, with golden hair waving about her shoulders, dressed in a robe of varied colours, and with eyes blue as the summer skies. She took the babe from its cradle, and suckled it at her breasts, and then vanished.

It was Frau Gode, the beneficent earth-goddess.

A peasant lad was keeping cows on an alp. Then a strange woman stood before him and said, "Let me take you to myself." He was frightened and ran away. But his master was angry that he had deserted the cows, and sent him back. And when he came to the alp, where the woman had stood, he found only a heap of ironstone and a black pool. He looked into the water, for there was something swimming in it, and he saw an iron head with eye-sockets like deep holes; and he touched it with a stick, and the iron head sank. Presently he went out on the edge of the cliff, and sounded his horn. Then something came rushing towards him from among the pines, and he was aware of the iron head looking over his shoulder, and he heard a voice say, "None escape me whom I desire;" and two iron arms closed round him, and iron claws gripped him. He was found next morning crushed and broken at the bottom of the cliff.

It was Jarnsaxa, the cruel earth-mother.[1]

The German women are of divine origin, descended from goddesses, and they have carried with them to their last posterity all the warmth of Gode's heart, and some of the iron of Jarnsaxa's head.

The two generations have grown together, and I think there never was a time when there were not in Fatherland representatives of Gode and of Jarnsaxa. Heaven be praised! the daughters of the iron goddess are not all as ferociously disposed as she, the divine blood of Gode throbs in their hearts, they retain only the hardheadedness of their ancestress.

It is, no doubt, because among German women there are some of both races, as in one woman there are opposed individualities, that we find such conflicting testimony concerning them in the age when the curtain is first lifted on their lives. Tacitus says that the Germans esteemed something sacred and prophetic in woman, that they followed her counsels, and exalted her as a goddess; but, on the other hand, the stern evidence of early laws shows that she was treated as a household animal, bought and sold, let or lent. Her life was given her by the capricious generosity of her father, and when her husband died, she was expected to burn herself on his body, as of no more use in the world.[2]

The first glimpse given us of the German woman by history is not of her as a benign and bending character. She bursts on us as a being, fearful and violent, but heroic. In the year 102 before Christ, Caius Marius rolled back the inundating wave of Teutones on the bloody field of Aix. The routed barbarians were pursued by the Roman soldiers to their camp. "Then," says Plutarch, "the Teutonic women rushed to meet them with swords and cudgels, and flung themselves headlong among pursuers and pursued, uttering hideous and frantic howls; the latter they drove back as cowards, the former they assailed as enemies, mingling with the battle, beating down the swords of the Romans, with their bare hands grasping the bare blades, and with courage, dauntless to the death, allowed themselves to be gashed and hacked to pieces rather than yield."

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[1] Hœla is the same cruel goddess under another name.

[2] This was in the earliest stage; but exposure of infants remained in Christian times, and was only put down with difficulty.

Valerius Maximus shows us not only their dauntlessness, but their dignity. The captured Teutonic maidens besought the conqueror to let them enter among the virgins of Vesta, promising to remain untarnished in her service. When their request was refused, rather than submit to the indignities in store for them, in the night they strangled themselves, valuing their honour above their lives.

Next year Marius routed the Cimbri at Vercellæ. When the legionaries drove the invaders over the wall of their camp, the Cimbric women, standing in the chariots, robed in black, killed those who fled, one cut down a husband, another a brother, a third a father. Then they cast their children under the wheels of the cars and hoofs of the horses, and, lastly, laid murderous hands on themselves. One was found hung by her own hands to a chariot-pole, with her strangled babes dangling from her ankles.

With the majesty of heroism and great sorrow, the first German woman whose name is known steps forth on the stage of history. Thusnelda[1] was the wife of Hermann (Arminius), the indefatigable opponent of Rome, conqueror of Varus and exterminator of his legions. Her father Siegast, who had an hereditary feud with the Hessian chief, betrayed his daughter, when awaiting her confinement, into the hands of the Romans. Inspired with the spirit of her husband, rather than with that of her father, says Tacitus, her captivity drew from her not a tear or word of lamentation. She brooded in silence on her grief, with hands folded on her bosom and eyes resting on her ripening womb. The news that his beloved wife was torn from him, and about to be carried into slavery, drove Hermann to mad fury. But his attempts to rescue her were unavailing. Thusnelda was taken to Rome, and there she bore Thumelicus. She with her babe and brother, Siegesmund, was forced to grace the triumph of Germanicus, and the traitor

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[1] Properly Tuiscnhild, the maid of Tuisco.

Siegast saw his daughter, son, and grandson dragging chains before the chariot of the conqueror of his people. Grief probably put a speedy end to the sorrows of this noble woman. The wrath of Rome against the conqueror of Varus expended itself in converting his son into a common gladiator. If, as is supposed, the beautiful marble statue of a German woman, which adorns the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence, be a representation of Thusnelda, it will show that the grandeur of soul of the barbarian did not fail to make its impress on the Romans.

In contrast to this tragic female figure, stands the blue-eyed, fair-haired Swabian Bisula, a girl taken in his Alemannic war by Valentinian I., and presented by him to Ausonius. From slave she speedily became the poet's mistress, and he fell in fetters at her feet. Her form is not heroic—it is but that of a sweet German maid, "but oh!" sighs the infatuated poet, "by her natural charms she eclipses all the pampered and tricked-up puppets of Rome."

The ancient Germans prided themselves, like the modern Iroquois, on not yielding to weak emotion. They acted in obedience to their hearts, but sternly repressed every exhibition of tenderness. Parents loved their children, but did not fondle them; husbands loved their wives without, like their descendants, hugging them in public and maundering over their ale of hymeneal happiness. The strong natures of that vigorous age, when once the barriers gave way, burst forth in whirlwinds. Slow distilling tears did not bedew their cheeks, but the flood of sorrow flowed mingled with blood from their eyes, and stained both face and raiment.[1] Men and women alike blushed to yield to light emotion, but not to violent passion. In her sorrow, Brunhild smites her hands together, so that the walls re-echo, and the birds on the roof fly scared away. On hearing the news of Siegfried's death, her bitter laughter shakes the house.[2] The hall rocks at the queen's weeping.[3] The mighty bosom heaves with such tempestuous emotion, that the necklace is burst, and the starry ornaments fly over the floor.[4] The muscles of Egil work when his son dies, so that his kirtle is rent.[5] Joy at the restitution of his master bursts the iron bands round the heart of the trusty Eckehard.

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[1] Wernhold, *Spicileg. Formul.* 1847, p. 31. Grimm: *Andreas and Elene.*

[2] *Sæmund Edda*, 208.

[3] *Gudrun*, 927.

[4] Wernhold, *Spicil.* p. 28.

[5] *Aigla*, c. 81.

Anger, hatred, sorrow, and love are wild spirits, and among the Old Germans none would yield to them without a battle; and each, when it possessed man or woman, wrought him up to Berserkir frenzy.

Let me attempt to put together a mosaic picture of the ancestresses of the German people—the prototypes, strongly outlined and harshly coloured, of the women, who, with fainter outline and faded tints, are the daughters, wives, and mothers of modern Germany. The characters are the same, but finer drawn; not scored in charcoal with a burnt stick, but traced with a crowquill, the downstrokes hairs, the upstrokes microscopic.

Races have their special characteristics as well as persons; and these individualising characteristics reappear again and again in their history, modified it may be, but unmistakable, if only we look for them.

We English are a mixture of many races, and our characteristic is Heterogeneity. Women accentuate the peculiarities of the race to which they belong. Corinthian brass was the melting and flowing together of all the metals in a blazing city. It was a precious and highly esteemed amalgam. Let us flatter ourselves that we are the Corinthian brass of Europe, only let us not forget that we have not the individuality of the Celt, or the Saxon, or the Angle, or the Jute, or the Roman, or the Dane, or the Norman. Each, when melted in, lost its distinguishing features. It is so with our women—they are the most beautiful, shining, precious of amalgams, but they have no organic, original individuality. Look at the whole course of our history, look at the women of the present day. They have a little of everything, of the vivacity of the Celt and the domesticity of the Saxon, the adventure of the Dane, and the dignity of the Norman.

It is of all these little mickles that the muckle is made up. The soup is one of many ingredients, but it is not stock. It is not so with the German women: they lack a thousand of those charms which make the Englishwoman the most perfect lady in the world. But they have, what our women have not, an original stamp and an original atomic weight of their own—a thing no compound substance can claim.

In the third century, Aurelian celebrated his victory over the Goths in Hungary and over the Marcomanni; and in his triumphal train strode Gothic maidens taken weapon in hand. Among them was Hunila, whose beauty and wit so captivated the conquerors, that a noble Roman offered her his hand. Claudian (fifth century), in singing the victory of Stilicho over Alaric, mentions an Ostrogothic wife, who urged her husband to war with the words, "Oh, why have I a man so inert? Happy are the Visigothic wives, for they dress themselves in the spoils of cities, and have Greek maidens as their slaves."

It was due to the persistency of the Germanic element among the Lombard conquerors of the Italian plains that the history of Paul Warnefried rises so high above the dry records of that age. It is a German national epic, in spite of the Latin garb it wears. It supplies us with many portraits of women, gloomy rather than gay, but portraits showing how great was the individuality and soul power of the Lombard woman, which had raised her from a chattel to a motive power in the household and in the State—a place she had won for herself, in spite of laws traditional through centuries, with her sword and bow—at least, with her hand and tongue.

Far back in the gloom of myth appears the weird Rumetrude, daughter of Tato, whose freakish love of blood led to furious war between the Lombards and the Herulii. On firmer historic ground stands the oft-sung tragic tale of Rosamund, the wife of Alboin. She was daughter of Kunimund, king of the Gepidæ, slain by Alboin in battle. Out of the skull of the old king, Alboin had fashioned a goblet. One night at Verona, at a banquet, flushed with pride and wine, the Lombard king brimmed the hideous bowl and presented it to his wife. Rosamund drank, and registered with the draught a vow of vengeance. At her bidding, Helmeric, the squire, slew the king as he lay sleeping in the heat of the day; he could not defend himself, for Rosamund had tied his sword to the bed-post.

Woman's nature is gentle and peaceable, but it is like those heaven-reflecting tarns of which folks tell, that if the tiniest pebble be dropped in to ruffle the surface, the depths churn, the sky overhead is overcast with storm, and the lake lashes itself into fury and foam. Passion takes hold of the female heart more readily than that of man. Her heart is more tindery or less protected. Then, with the concentration of all her powers, with no forethought and less restraint, she pursues her object over rock and ravine. Gentleness, pity, shame—all that are most dear and most revered—she tramples under foot, regardless of everything save her one object, and that attained, she totters and falls a wreck. Love, jealousy, revenge, form links in one chain, and many a woman who has yielded herself to the first has been bound and strangled by the others.

Is this overdrawn? Perhaps so, when speaking of compound natures in an artificial state of society; not so of original souls in fresh natural growth.

Of revenge there are or were two sorts, one inferior and personal, the other the carrying out of rude justice at a period when justice was executed by individuals and not by the State. Such was blood-vengeance; and women had a right to it—felt it a duty laid on them by their love and kinship. King Volsung and all his sons, save Sigmund and a grandchild Sinfiotli, were killed by Siggeir, who had married Signy, the daughter of Volsung. The queen meditates revenge, and excites Sigmund and Sinfiotli to execute it. They come to the palace of Siggeir and are concealed in a corner by Signy. The king's little son, whilst playing, discovers them, and by order of his mother, lest he should betray them, Sigmund and Sinfiotli cut the child to pieces. But the Volsungs are discovered, and are condemned to be buried alive. The mound is raised over a stone chamber, and they are lowered into it. But before the last slab closes the vault, the queen casts in a piece of meat wrapped round with straw. Sigmund, in tearing the flesh, finds it transfixed with his sword. With this he and Sinfiotli dig their way out of the mound and come to the royal hall, where all are asleep. They cast in firebrands, and the smoke and flames arouse the slumberers. "Know," cries Sigmund to the king, "that the Volsungs are not all dead." Then he bids his sister come forth in peace. Signy refuses. She has accomplished her purpose, has revenged the murder of her father and brothers, but she will, as a true wife, die with her husband. Only she comes forth to give a last kiss to Sigmund and Sinfiotli, and then she plunges back into the flames.

A picture in livelier colours is that of Theodelinda, daughter of the Bavarian king Garibald, whose hand was sought by the fair-haired young Lombard king Authvari. His courtship was a scrap of early romance. Full of desire to judge with his own eyes of his intended bride, he accompanied his ambassadors in disguise as one of them. When Garibald consented to the marriage, the messengers begged that, as token of acceptance, Theodelinda might give them to drink with her own hands. As she came with the goblet of wine to Authvari, he stroked her cheek and fingers. Theodelinda, red with shame, told her nurse what he had done. The wise woman answered · "If this man were not the king and your bridegroom, he would not have dared to touch you." The married life of Theodelinda and Authvari was short, as it lasted but a year; and then the Lombards bade the widowed queen retain her royal prerogative and choose a second husband from among their chiefs. She invited to court Agilulf, Duke of Turin, and when he came, she met him with a cup of wine. The duke knelt to receive it, and respectfully kissed the hand of the queen. She blushed, and smiling said: "He who could kiss my lips should not be content to kiss my hand:" and she chose him as the successor of Authvari.

A pleasanter picture still is that of Queen Bathild. Archimbold, mayor of the palace in the reign of Dagobert, had bought a Saxon slave-girl. She is thus described by one of her contemporaries: "Her pious and admirable conversation attracted the admiration of the prince and all his ministers. For she was of a benignant spirit and sober manners, prudent and shy, never scheming evil, never light in talk, or pert in speech, but in all her actions upright. She was of Saxon race; in shape graceful and pleasing, with a bright face and a staid gait, and as such she found favour with the prince, so that he constituted her his cupbearer, and as such, dealing honestly, she stood often by him, ministering to him. But so far from being lifted up by her position, she showed the utmost humility to her fellow-servants, cheerfully obeying them, ministering reverently to her elders, often taking the shoes off their feet, scraping and cleaning them, and bringing them their washing water, and mending their clothes also. All this she did without a murmur, with gentle and pious alacrity." Now it fell out that Archimbold lost his wife, and he looked about for some one to fill her place. His eyes rested with somewhat undue warmth on the modest Saxon girl, and she, fearing his intentions, hid herself among the maids of the kitchen, dishevelled her light hair, begrimed her face, and worked in rags, so that the mayor thought she had gone clean away, and after a while he forgot her and married some one else. Then Bathild shook off her tatters, braided her flaxen hair, washed her sunny face, and shone forth in her accustomed place. But she had fled the mayor to catch the king. How Clovis became attached to her is not recorded, but certain it is that he asked her to be his lawful wife, and to sit by his side on the throne of the Franks. So, at the age of nineteen, in 649, she was married to Clovis II. As queen she exercised a most salutary influence over the mind of her husband, and persuaded him to enact many wholesome laws.

Horace Walpole has said that no woman ever invented a new religion, but that no new religion ever made way without woman's help. Theodelinda was a nursing mother to the Church among the Lombards, Bertha to Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and Bathild among the Franks. She exerted herself to the utmost of her power to relieve the necessities of the poor and ameliorate the condition of the serf. After six years of married life Bathild was left a widow and regent for her son. The gentle queen remembered her sorrows as a slave. She forbade the retention or purchase of Christian slaves, and she spent all the money she could spare to redeem children from bondage. She sent ambassadors to all the European courts to announce that the sale of Franks was strictly forbidden, and that any slave who set foot on French soil should be held from that moment to be free.

Very different was Romilda, the wife of Gisulf, Lombard Duke of Friuli. When Cacan, king of the Avars, invaded the land, slew the duke, and besieged the duchess in Forum-Julii, she was so struck with his good looks that she offered to deliver up the city to him if he would marry her. He agreed, the gates were opened, and he took her to wife for one night. Next day he sent her to be impaled alive, saying: "The stake is the only husband a traitress merits."

Her four daughters showed a more noble spirit. To save their honour they stuffed the bosoms of their dresses with decayed flesh of fowls, and the Avars thought the young ladies too odorous to desire to make their near acquaintance.

Gundeberga, wife of King Charoald, proved her fidelity to her husband by an act more forcible and expressive than deserving of imitation. When the noble Adalulf whispered at table his passion in her ear, she turned round with Teutonic leisureliness, and then, as he looked for his answer, abruptly spat in his face.

Radegund was the daughter of a Thuringian prince killed by his own brother Hermannfried. Theodebert and Clothair defeated Hermannfried in a great battle on the Unstrut, and took Erfurt, his capital. Radegund and her brother fell into the hands of Clothair, and he made her his wife, or one of his wives. He murdered her brother in cold blood, and then, unable to endure his infidelity and brutality any longer, she fled to Noyon, where she appealed to St. Medard, the bishop, to release her from the hated union and consecrate her to God. He refused, mindful of the apostolic precept: "Let not her who is married seek to be released." But she burst into the sanctuary, wrapped in the monastic veil, and going to the foot of the altar, charged the bishop: "If thou delayest to dedicate me, thou fearest man more than God, and He will require my blood at thy hands." Then he extended his hand and laid it on her head. Clothair, who had found her presence some slight restraint, speedily solaced himself for her absence, and sent her money for the building of a convent. With this she erected the Abbey of St. Cross at Poitiers. There her sorrow over the miseries of her age, which she had vainly attempted to relieve, and its brutality, which she had been powerless to soften, found a vent in elegiac lamentations, which her friend, Venantius Fortunatus, clothed in Latin verse. In his elegy on the ruin of Thuringia, the poet lets the queen say: "I saw the women carried off into slavery, with bound hands and flying hair, their bare feet dabbled in the blood of their husbands, or treading the corpses of their brothers. All wept, and I wept with them, for the dead, and yet more for the living. When the wind wails, I listen: perchance in the blast will steal by the ghost of one of my dear ones. Where are those I have loved? I ask the wind that whistles, and would that a bird would answer me out of it!"

Mention must be made of two women, two queens—terrible daughters of Jarnsaxa—Fredigund and Brunehild. They were of very different origin and condition, and after a parallel career of fortune ended differently.

Fredigund was the daughter of poor peasants, and at an early period in the train of Audovera, first wife of King Chilperic. She was beautiful and ambitious, bold and unscrupulous, and she attracted the attention, and, before long, awakened the passion, of the king. She pursued her unexpected fortune with ardour and without hesitation. Queen Audovera was her first obstacle and her first victim; she was repudiated and banished to a convent. But Fredigund's hour was not yet come; for Chilperic married Galswintha, daughter of the Visigoth King Athanagild, whose youngest daughter, Brunehild, had just been united to Sigebert, King of Austrasia, the brother of Chilperic. By Fredigund's orders Galswintha was strangled in her bed, and then Chilperic married her. She and Brunehild were now sisters-in-law, and on Brunehild lay the sacred duty of avenging her sister's murder on the low-born intruder who had stepped over her body to the throne. At her instigation Sigebert took arms against his brother, but emissaries of Fredigund assassinated him in his tent, and Brunehild fell into the hands of her brother-in-law. The right of asylum belonging to the cathedral of Paris saved her life, but she was sent to Rouen. There, at the very time, happened to be Meroveus, son of Chilperic by Audovera. Seeing Brunehild in her beauty and her trouble, he loved her, and Prætextatus, Bishop of Rouen, was thought to have incautiously joined their hands.[1] That sealed the fate of the prince and the prelate. Prætextatus was stabbed in the armpit in church by an assassin commissioned by the queen, and Meroveus, a fugitive, besought a faithful servant to kill him, that he might not fall into the cruel hands of his stepmother. Chilperic had another son by Audovera; he was poignarded and Audovera strangled. But the sum of crimes was not yet complete. In 584 King Chilperic, when returning from the chase, was struck two mortal blows by a man who took to rapid flight, and a cry was raised of "Treason, it is the hand of the Austrasian Childebert." But the care taken to have the cry raised proved its falsity; it was the hand of Fredigund herself, anxious lest Chilperic should discover a guilty intrigue existing between her and Landri, an officer of her household. Chilperic left a son, named Clothair, a few months old, of whom his mother Fredigund became the sovereign guardian. She spent the last thirteen years of her life in defending him against the enemies she had raised, and endangering him by new plots and crimes. She was a true type of a strong-witted, iron-headed, remorseless woman in barbarous times, her character unredeemed by one trait of womanliness or nobility. She started low down in the scale, and rose very high, without any corresponding elevation of soul. She died quietly in her bed at Paris in 597, leaving the throne of Neustria to her son, Clothair II.

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[1] The charge was brought against him before a Council of Paris, but he stoutly denied having done so, even when the bishops who tried him urged him to confess that he had, to relieve them from their difficulties, as Chilperic and Fredigund were determined to make them condemn Prætextatus, whether guilty or not.—Greg. Turon. (who was present at the Council), *H. Franc.* ix. 39, 42.

Very superior to her in mental power and greatness of character, but scarcely her inferior in wickedness, was her rival Brunehild —a woman who, in another age, or among other circumstances,—who even perhaps then, but for the fact that Fredigund was her contemporary—would have been a great and good woman, a Duchess Hadwig or a Maria Theresa, instead of an Empress Catharine. She was a princess of the Visigoths, the German race which had most readily assimilated Roman culture, and she came to the Burgundian court, the most barbarous and brutal of all. Venantius Fortunatus, little dreaming what course she would run, saw in the beautiful and modest bride of Sigebert the dawning of a great hope, and sang her praises with enthusiasm, lauding alike her beauty, her goodness, and her wisdom. Brunehild had no occasion for crimes to become a queen ; and in spite of those she committed, and in spite of her outbursts, and the moral irregularities of her long life, she bore, amidst her passions and her power, the stamp of courageous frankness and intellectual nobility, which places her far above the lustful savage who was her rival. Brunehild took a practical interest in all public works, highways, bridges, monuments, and the progress of material civilisation. She cherished the poor flowers of literature which appeared in that rugged soil and under that chilling sky. In the royal domains, and wherever she went, her charities showed that she had a heart which felt for the sorrows and servitude of the poor. But the right of blood revenge fell to her. The murderess of her sister and of her husband must not remain unchastised. Intoxicated with power, pride, above all with hate, she threw herself with female impetuosity and manly determination into the whirlpool of political strife, caring little if she were herself submerged, if only she could first grip and drown her enemies. St. Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, had his brains dashed out by her orders, and for a less reason than the murder of St. Prætextatus by Fredigund. St. Columbanus, the great Irish missionary, who denounced her irregularities, was banished by her from the dear solitude of the Vosges Brunehild on one side, and Fredigund on the other, fanned to fresh fury the embers of strife, whenever they showed signs of waxing cold. At length the hellish drama closed in 614 with a scene of unparalleled horror. Seventeen years after the death of Fredigund, when Brunehild was eighty years of age, she fell into the hands of the son, as she had once before into those of the husband, of her rival. No sanctuary could save her now. Clothair charged her with having caused the death of ten princes of the Merovingian line. Then, after having her tortured during three days, he had her exposed to the derision of the camp at Châlons, seated on a camel. Lastly, she was bound by her long white hair, a hand and a foot, to the tail of a wild horse, and was kicked, literally limb from limb, by the furious and frightened animal.

We have seen some instances of the esteem in which Teutonic women held their honour. There were Lucretias and Judiths also among them. The Lombard prince Sigehard fell in love with the beautiful wife of Nannigo, one of his officers. When she indignantly rejected his advances, he sent the husband on an embassy to Africa, and this left the unhappy woman in his power. From the moment of her disgrace the wife laid aside all her gay clothing, and covered herself with rags ; she washed and anointed herself no more, and lay on the bare earth. When Nannigo returned, as her welcome, she bade him smite off her head, for his honour was stained. Nannigo sought to comfort her. He raised her, and made her bathe and adorn herself as of old. But the heart of the noble woman was broken, and she never smiled again.[1] A Frank maid was her own avenger. When insulted by a noble, named Amalo, she caught up his sword and smote him a mortal wound on the head. He lived long enough to prevent his servants from falling on her, and King Childebert took her under his protection from the vengeance of the kinsmen of Amalo.[2]

Many touching instances of wifely devotion might be quoted. Bertha, the wife of Gerard of Roussillon, clings to him, though she knows his heart is estranged from her and fixed on another; and when he falls into misfortune, and must secrete himself in wild and desert places, she follows him, comforts him, raises him, and finally rescues him. We have another example in Nanna, wife of the god Baldur. The husband dies through Loki's wiles, and the funeral pyre is raised on a ship, which is sent adrift to sea. But Nanna cannot bear the sight, and her heart breaks. No less devoted is Signy, the wife of Loki. He is condemned to be bound by the entrails of his son to the rock, and Skadi, whose father he had slain, hangs a poisonous serpent above him, so that the venom drops on his face. Signy will not desert him; she sits ever at his side in the heart of the mountains, catching the venom in a bowl. This lasts till the end of the world. Only when she goes away to empty the bowl does the venom fall on the face of Loki; and then he writhes in his agony, and the earth quakes.

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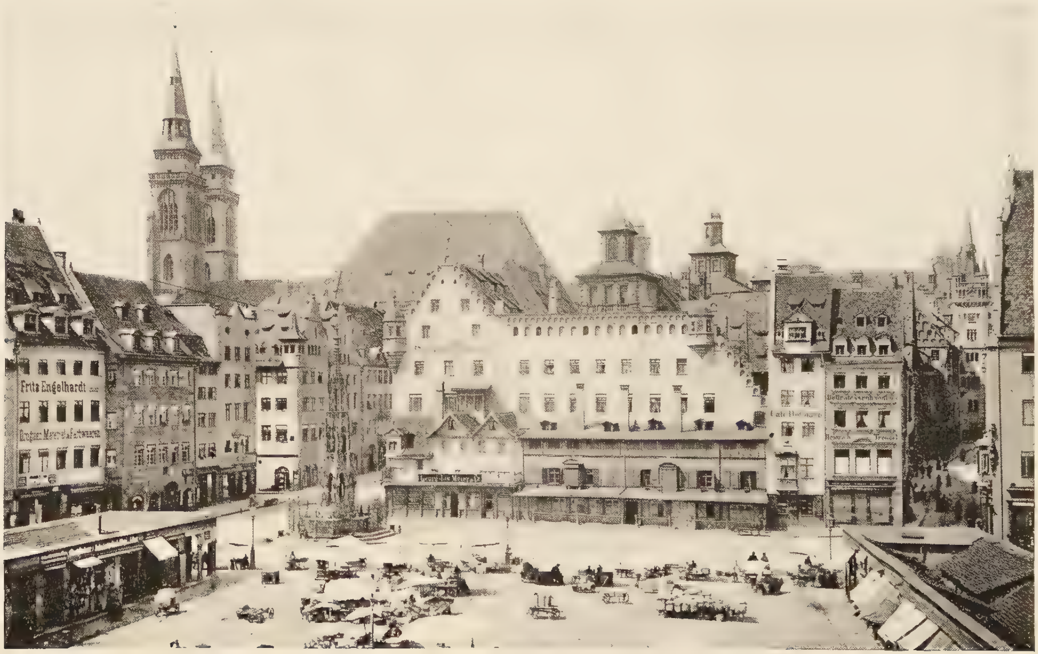
[1] *Chron. Salitern*, c. 65.

[2] Greg. Turon. *H. F.* ix. 27.

In the German story of the Nibelungen, Kriemhild is the great example of love stronger than death. From the moment that the beloved husband is found lying before her door, transfixed by Hagen's hand, her only thought and aim is to avenge his death on his murderers. For this she leaves her home on the banks of the green Rhine, marries the Hungarian king, Etzel, and sacrifices the lives of her brothers, husband, son, and followers. When her purpose is accomplished, when with her own hand she has dealt Hagen, bound in a dungeon, his death wound, then the blow of Hildebrand's sword is a *coup de grâce.* Her object is achieved, and life has no more charms for her.

Like Kriemhild in the German story, so is Brunhild in the Northern lays, a mighty example of womanly fidelity. Siegfried dissolves the spell which Odin has cast over the headstrong virgin, and he betroths her to himself. But by enchantment he is made to forget Brunhild as a dream of the night, and he seeks her hand for Günther, whose sister Kriemhild he has married. But in Brunhild's heart the oath is not forgotten, her fidelity is not shaken. With agonising pain she sees the man who belonged to her by right, happy at the side of another. "Like ice and snow cold resolves come over her," and she stirs up Günther to cause the death of Siegfried and his son. With the wolf the cub must perish. The deed is accomplished. When Brunhild hears the piercing cry of Kriemhild, she laughs so loud that the rafters ring. Now



NUREMBERG

Germany.

the hated rival's joy is dissolved, and done for ever, and now in the nether world Brunhild can be with her betrothed. She stabs herself, and is burned beside him on his pyre, with a sword between them. Such love and fidelity are indeed terrible, but they are great. In spite of man's unfaithfulness, the soul of the woman remains constant, and her very love leads her to destroy the beloved rather than let him enjoy life with another. In death she may be united to him at whose side she could not rest in life. It was a feeling such as this which filled the heart of Ingeborg, daughter of Gudmund of Glaisfeld, when she tore out the eyes of her lover, lest he should see and admire maidens more beautiful than herself.[1]

In the Norse version of the story of Brunhild we see the Teutonic woman in primeval savagery and grandeur, surrounded with a mythological halo. In the German version of the tale we see Kriemhild—at least in the first part of the tragedy—as the ideal of German womanhood. Kriemhild is indeed German maidenliness impersonified. She is beautiful, pure, gentle,

As the moon in brightness
White outshines each star,
And through clouds its radiance
Streameth soft and far.

When she first meets Siegfried in the rose-garden at Worms—

Stepped the fair one gently,
Like the morning red
Breaking o'er the mountains,
Shade and sorrow fled.

Who would dream of the depth of passion and stoutness of purpose in that placid being? When Siegfried becomes her husband, she loves him as her lord and hero. It is her love which fills her with pride, and impels her to resent the slights of Brunhild. Then comes Siegfried's murder, and the transformation of the gentle, sunny Kriemhild into a monster of remorseless, unwomanly ferocity. If Kriemhild be one ideal of the old German world, Gudrun is another, the pattern and prototype of woman, patient and forgiving, therefore unlike Kriemhild; but true to death, and therefore like her too. Kriemhild is, though baptised, a heathen at heart. Gudrun has better learned her catechism. The former is the active, the latter the passive heroine. In quietness and in confidence Gudrun possesses her soul. Carried away from her home and her betrothed, Herwig, she endures the ill-treatment of Gerlind with patience; and no hard usage will make her break her troth, and take the Norman prince, Hartmuth. Abased to be a handmaid, washing clothes in the sea waves, her bare feet in the snow, and with but a shift to screen her from the icy blast, she never loses her maidenly dignity, and no insults crush or turn to gall her noble heart. When Herwig comes to the rescue, she steps between the conquerors and the conquered to secure peace and the end of bloodshed, and wins mercy from those flushed with victory for those who have ill-used her.

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[1] *Fornmennir Sögur*, iii. 141.

I think that when we look at some—I may say most—of the sketches given us of the Teutonic woman, and see her, vehement, eating out her heart, consuming herself and others, we may understand how it is that so many mediæval German writers make moderation the chief glory to be sought of German woman, the chief virtue to be acquired, without which she is a danger to society. Gottfried of Strassburg, the author of the "Tristan," sang in the twelfth century:

Von allen Dingen auf dieser Welt,
Die je der Sonne Licht erhellt,
Ist keins so selig wie das Weib
Das stets ihr Leben und ihren Leib
Und ihre Sitten dem *Mass* ergiebt.

And Odilo of Cluny thinks the highest word of praise he can say of Adelheid, widow of Lothair and wife of Otto the Great, is that there was, in spite of her cruel usage, her great gifts, her high exaltation, "moderation in her."

With one picture more I shall close this gallery.

Hadewig, Duchess of Swabia, widow of Duke Burkhardt, was the most remarkable woman of the tenth century. Above the end of the Lake of Constance, commanding the whole sweep of the Alps from the Algäu to Mont Blanc, rises the volcanic crag of the Hohentwiel, crowned with the ruins of a mighty castle. There sat Hadewig, left a widow in the bloom of her days, ruling Swabians and Alemanni, and reading Ovid and Virgil with the assistance of Ekkehard, a young monk of St. Gall, whom she had borrowed of the abbot to be her instructor. They read and studied together the old poets, but ever with open doors and in the presence of a servant, that the breath of scandal might not mar the intimacy.[1] The lady Hadewig was beautiful as she was learned, but she was self-willed and violent as either. As a child she had been destined to be the wife of the Byzantine, Constantine VI., and had been instructed in Greek by an eunuch sent for the purpose. But she had not acquired Greek graces. When, in a fit of wrath, she swore "By Hadewig's life," all about her trembled.

Even her poor preceptor Ekkehard shivered in his habit when one day the Duchess ordered a servant "to have hair and skin beat off"—*i.e.* his hair wrenched out by the roots, and his hide flayed with rods—because he had unintentionally neglected a duty. A modern novelist makes the Duchess fall in love with the monk; stern history relates that she had him one day mercilessly horsewhipped. The "dread lady" Hadewig died at an advanced age in 994. She was no blue-stocking. She loved the Muses, but she ruled like a man, and she led her subjects against the invading Huns and routed them.

I cannot say, I fear, of this chapter, as Florian did of his Pastorals, that there are only sheep there, no wolves. For though there are, and always have been, German women gentle and dumb as sheep, there are, and always have been, I will not say wolves, among them, but very lively kids, jumping hurdles and climbing the face of precipices. Brunhild, Kriemhild, Hadewig, are the true ancestresses of Geier-Wally, Ernestine, and Felicitas of modern romance; of the Rahel, Brachmann, and Daniel Stern of modern reality; of the tempestuous-souled, emancipated women who boil up to the surface of society every day. And Gudrun, Bathild, and Bertha have also their representatives in fiction and in fact; in the Gretchen of Goethe, in Auerbach's Barfüssele, in Kleist's Käthchen von Heilbronn, and in almost every household of Germany—the sunbeam that lightens it, the flower that fills the house with fragrance.

The first age of German history and romance shows us side by side two types of women—two ideals, the one impetuous and undisciplined, the other retiring and domesticated. The child is father to the man. I pass over the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the schooling and the coming out of womanhood, to resume my sketches in the modern period, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We shall see that the types remain, though modified and disguised by the circumstances and fashion of the period.

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[1] That has been reserved for a modern writer, Scheffel, in his *Ekkehart*, an historical romance much belauded. Germany has produced no Walter Scott, so she must glorify a G. P. R. James. *Ekkehart* has much local colour and a strong antiquarian smack, but no other merits as a work of fiction, that I can perceive.

On the very threshold of modern times stands a characteristic figure, Sophia Charlotte, Princess of Brunswick Lüneburg, the second wife of Frederic I., who in 1700 exchanged the Electoral cap of Brandenburg for the Royal crown of Prussia at the price of 10,000 men.[1] As a bride she is described in the "Mercurgalant" of 1684, as slender, clear-complexioned, and combining the beauties of large blue eyes and a profusion of glossy black hair. Frederic loved pomp and ceremony, was badly educated and ill-shaped, a mixture of shrewdness, selfishness, and meanness. Sophia Charlotte, unable to endure his society, withdrew to Lützelburg, where she kept her simple court, surrounded by men of letters and devoted to the study of philosophy, asking Leibnitz more questions than the *savant* could answer. "Madame," said he impatiently one day, "you want to know the wherefore of every why!"

She spoke French, English, and Italian fluently, knew Latin, and was an accomplished musician. But there was none of the song and sweetness of life in her soul. Her mind was masculine, and only feminine so far that it was uncreative. She well deserved the title of "the queen philosopher" given her by the people—an honour little to the taste of her orthodox son, Frederic William I., who said of her, "My mother was a wise woman, but a bad Christian." A woman without religion is a flower without scent, and if dipped in the paraffin of philosophy acquires pungency, but not fragrance.

Her morals were pure as rock-crystal, and the drops of marital and maternal affection expressed from her were the thawings of an icicle. She died in 1705, with a note of interrogation on her tongue; with philosophic composure addressing her ladies-in-waiting: "Do not bewail me. I am going now to learn the answer to all my queries into the origin of things which Leibnitz could not give. I am going to solve the mysteries of space and of infinity, of being and of not-being. As for the King my husband, I shall supply him with the opportunity of making a public display of my funeral such as he dearly loves."

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[1] Whom he sold to the Emperor as mercenaries for the right to call himself a king.

A more genial, and a far grander character, was the great Empress Maria Theresa. Few men or women who have worn crowns have succeeded in exerting such a fascination as this daughter and successor of the last of the Habsburgs. In the spring of her life, nobly built, her dignity of majesty and charm of womanhood combined to turn the scale of her fortune at the most eventful period in her career. France, England, Saxony, and Prussia, were combined with Bavaria to reject her claims. The Elector of Cologne acknowledged her only by the title of Archduchess; the Elector Palatine sent her a letter by the common post, superscribed "To the Archduchess Maria Theresa;" and the King of Spain refused her any other title than Duchess of Tuscany. Her Ministry were timorous, desponding, irresolute, worn out with age, or quelled by the impending dangers. Her only hope lay in Hungary, where but shortly before the sovereignty of the Habsburgs had been established by the effusion of torrents of blood. She flew to Presburg, convoked the magnates, and appeared among them attired in Hungarian costume, the crown of St. Stephen on her head and his sword at her side. Radiant with beauty and spirit, she addressed the Diet, and called on the nobles as cavaliers to stand by a woman in her jeopardy. The whole assembly, fired with sudden enthusiasm, burst into the unanimous shout, "Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!" and took the field at the head of their serfs, 30,000 cavalry, and the wild hordes of Pandurs and Croats.

There was nothing superficial, frivolous, imperfect, artificial in this splendid woman. She was true to her heart's core, towering in every point but one—sagacity in the choice of Ministers—above that English Queen to whom she has been often likened, Elizabeth Elizabeth was great because of her Ministers; Maria Theresa was great in herself. Elizabeth was a mixture of meanness in money matters, vanity, and jealousy; Maria Theresa was a great pruner down of expenses. Notwithstanding the loss of Naples and of Silesia, which used to bring in six millions of florins, her skilful administration raised the revenues from thirty to thirty-six millions. She was full of self-respect, but in no way vain; once only did she lower herself, and that was in addressing Madame de Pompadour as her "dear cousin;" but that was in a moment of urgency, when everything depended on detaching France from the Bavarian cause. With the tenderest love to her faithless husband, she was above the jealousy of woman. When she was leaving the deathbed of Charles VI., she passed his mistress, the Princess of Auersperg, crouching in a corner, neglected by the servants. Maria Theresa stopped, turned, and extending her hand to her, said: "My dear princess, what have not *we* lost this day!"

She was a woman with the most delicate sensibility of a female heart controlled by strong principle; she demanded purity of morals from her court and people, and showed a dazzling example of a blameless life in an age of unblushing licentiousness. As regent she was despotic; but her despotism was patriarchal and idyllic. She was pious, but not bigoted; a devout Catholic, but ready to sign the expulsion of the Jesuits from the realm.[1] The warm impulses of her heart broke through the restraints of Spanish formality which had enveloped the court; as when, on her husband's coronation, her clear bell-like voice led the cheers; more remarkably in 1768, when the news reached her of the birth of her first grandson, the child of the Grand-Duke Leopold. The news was brought to her as she was stepping into bed. Instantly, forgetful of her *déshabillé*, she flew through the corridor of the palace into the royal lodge of the court theatre, and leaning over the breasting, communicated the glad tidings to the people in the pit in their own Viennese dialect. "Der Poldi (Leopold) hat ein Bhuaba (Bube), und grad zum Bindband auf mein Hochzeitstag!—der ist galant!"[2]

The Princess Amelia of Brunswick, married in 1756, at the age of sixteen, to the Duke of Weimar, shall lead us out of the circle of royalty into that of literature. The union was one in which the heart had little share. "From childhood," she wrote, "my lot has been nothing but self-sacrifice. Never was education so little fitted as mine to form one destined to rule others. Those who directed it themselves needed direction; she to whose guidance I was entrusted, was the sport of every passion, subject to innumerable wayward caprices, of which I became the unresisting victim. Unloved by my parents, ever kept in the background, I was regarded as the outcast of the family. The sensitive feelings I had received from nature made me keenly alive to this cruel treatment; it often drove me to despair; I became silent, reserved, concentrated, obstinate. I suffered myself to be reproached, insulted, *beaten*, without uttering a word, and still as far as possible persisted in my own course. At length, in my sixteenth year, I was married. In my seventeenth I became a mother. It was the first unmingled joy I had ever known. It seemed to me as though a host of new and varied feelings had sprung to life with my child. My heart became lighter, my ideas clearer; I gained more confidence in myself. In my eighteenth year arrived the greatest epoch in my life. I became a mother for the second time, a widow, and regent of the duchy. I felt my own incapacity, and yet I was compelled to find everything in my own resources. Never have I prayed with deeper and truer devotion than at that moment. I believe I might have become the greatest of saints. When the first excitement was over, I confess, however, that my feelings were those of awakened vanity. Regent, and so young! To rule and command! An inner voice whispered, Beware! I listened, and reason triumphed. Truth and self-love struggled for the mastery, and truth prevailed. Then came war. My brother and nearest relatives were crowned with laurels. My ambition was roused. I, too, longed for praise. Day and night I studied to render myself mistress of my new duties. Then I felt how absolutely I needed a friend in whom I could place entire confidence. Many sought my favour, some by flattery, others by a show of disinterestedness. I seemed to accept all, in the hope of finding among them the pearl of great price. At length I did find it, and I was filled with the joy others experience in lighting on a vast treasure."

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[1] A copy of her confessions made to a Jesuit priest was sent her from Spain, whither the confessor had forwarded it to the General of his Order. This opened her eyes to the character of the Order.

[2] "Our Leopold has got a boy on the very anniversary of my marriage: is he not polite!"

She speedily displayed talents for government which, in a wider sphere of action, might have given her a name in history. The state of the little duchy was lamentable; the treasury was empty, agriculture was neglected, the people were discontented. With the aid of her faithful ministers she succeeded in restoring something like order to the exhausted finances, established schools and charitable asylums, and left untried no means of promoting the general prosperity. Disgusted with the wearisome etiquette to which her youth had been a victim, she banished all that was not absolutely indispensable to the due maintenance of her dignity; while in her love of literature she succeeded in drawing round her a galaxy of genius, which recalled the court of Ferrara in the days of Alfonso.

Into that circle we will now enter, and see what the women were who associated with the great revivers of literature, of poetry, and art.

The rococo period had been one, in Germany as in France, of female degradation. The little courts of Germany had been filled and ruled by mistresses, and the proudest ambition of a lady was to lose her honour to a prince. A fever of French imitation had swept over Germany, and the petty sovereigns. unable to emulate the polish and courtesy of the Gallic court, aped its vices. *Politesse* rendered into German is *gaucherie*. The minuet is danced in sabots. The courts of Berlin, Stuttgart, Dresden, Weimar, and Cassel had striven which could surpass the other in licentiousness. It was the ass of the fable imitating the lapdog. Versailles exhibited the refinement of voluptuousness, these little courts vice in its grossness. In the midst of this degradation the ideal of German womanhood was lost. It had to be recovered by a set of experiments. There was something beautiful, if unreal, in the glorification of woman by the Minnesingers of the Middle Ages there was something affected and grotesque in the idealism of the new generation of German poets.

As with the Minnesingers so was it with the poets of the transition. Woman was elevated to a pedestal on which she could not balance herself. They affected platonic affection which showed an inveterate tendency to lapse into *liaisons d'amour*.

They taught that love was eternal and omnipotent, and those who imbibed their teaching found it only to be a freakish elf with the life of a may-fly. They pointed to it as a pharos casting its dazzling beams over the tossing waters of life, and their dupes learned too late that it shone to teach them what to avoid, not what to aim at. Whilst the Duchess was surrounding herself with those who were to cast a blaze of light through the intellectual world, she was creating also a great *cloaca* of moral corruption. With Don Quixote one exclaims: "Holy Mary! is it possible that the lady duchess should have such drains."

Let us look at Wieland, whom the Duchess Amalie chose to be the instructor of her son.

When Wieland was seventeen he met at his father's parsonage the beautiful Sophie Gutermann, sent there to recover her heart after an unhappy love-affair with an Italian. Wieland, in all the enthusiasm of youth, and Sophie, with the changeableness of woman, fell madly in love with one another. "It was an ideal, but a true enchantment in which I lived," wrote Wieland later, "and the Sophie I loved so enthusiastically was the ideal of perfection embodied in her form. Nothing is more certain than that if we had not been brought together I should never have been a poet." They cast themselves on their knees, pledged their everlasting troth, and sealed the bond with a delirious kiss.

Wieland went thence to Zürich, where he wrote licentious verses; thence to Berne, where he fell in love with Julie Bondeli, an enthusiast, who went about preaching the doctrines of Rousseau. He asked her to marry him. "Tell me," she inquired, "will you never love another?" "Never," he answered, "except I find one more beautiful, more unfortunate, and more virtuous." Julie had the sense to decline such doubtful devotion.

Then he became the guest of Count Stadion at Warthausen. Sophie in the meantime had married M. Laroche. "Our friendship," she wrote to the poet, "need not be broken by this union with another. We shall meet one another in the Land of the Blessed." At Warthausen they met again. What the meeting must have been we may divine from a description of a second many years later, when he was thirty-eight and she forty-one which, as a picture of the exaggerated sentimentality of the period, deserves quotation. I must, however, premise that the ecstasies and raptures did not prevent Wieland falling in love with his old love's sister.

"We heard a coach drive up," writes Jacobi, "and looked out of the window. It was Wieland; Herr von Laroche ran down the steps, and I after him, to meet him at the door. Wieland was moved and somewhat bewildered. In the meantime the wife of Laroche came down—all at once he saw her—and I noticed him shudder. Then he turned aside, threw his hat impetuously on the ground, and tottered towards Sophie. All this took place with such an extraordinary agitation in all Wieland's features and person, that I felt my nerves shaken. Sophie went to meet her friend with wide expanded arms; but instead of receiving her embrace, he clasped her hands, and bowed to bury his face in them. Sophie bent with heavenly sweetness over him, and said, in a tone which no clarionette or dubois could equal, 'Wieland—Wieland—O yes! it is you! You are ever my dear Wieland!' He, roused by this moving voice, raised himself somewhat, looked into the weeping eyes of his friend, and then let his face sink into her arms. None of us bystanders could refrain from tears; mine streamed down my cheeks; I burst into sobs; I was beyond myself, and to the present moment cannot tell how the scene ended and we managed to find our way back into the room."

In the end Wieland married, prosaically and respectably enough, one Dorothea Hildebrand, whom he describes in a letter to Gessner, as "an innocent, amiable being, gentle, cheerful, and unspoiled, not very pretty, but quite pretty enough for a worthy man who wants an agreeable housewife." When Wieland was called to Weimar by the Duchess to undertake the education of her eldest son, Charles Augustus, the young prince was in his sixteenth year. The appointment was not unopposed; it was not difficult to point out passages in his "Agathon" and "Musarion" too faithfully reflecting the moral licence of his own life at Zürich. But the Duchess, who, despite the unsullied purity of her own character, was somewhat tainted with the sentimentality and philosophic rationalism of the day, and who held the delusive though plausible theory that no licence of tone, or warmth of colouring, could injure a healthy and high-toned mind, cast these objections to the winds. Not a few attributed the tendency to licentious habits in Charles Augustus, if not to the instructions of his tutor, at least to the perusal of his works.

In 1776 the Duchess resigned the reins of government to her son, then aged eighteen. "My son," were her last words on quitting her little capital, "I confide to your hands the happiness of your subjects; be it your care, as it has been mine."

Herder was another of those whom the Princess attracted to Weimar. Like Lessing, he may be regarded as one of the pioneers of German thought. Through Goethe's influence he was named court preacher and superintendent of the schools established by the Duchess at Weimar. He married Maria Cornelia Flachsland. This is her account of their first meeting :—

"Herder preached. I heard the voice of an angel, and soul-words unheard by me before. In the afternoon I saw him, and stammered out my thanks From that moment our souls were one. Our meeting was God's work. More intimately could not hearts be united than ours. My love was a feeling, a harmony. When I spoke with him for the first time alone no words were necessary; we were one heart, one soul, no separation could divide us."

Here is one of her love letters: "Oh! what art thou doing, blessed, sweetest youth?" (he was then thirty-seven). "Are you dreaming of me? Do you love me still? Oh, pardon me that I ask! In your last godlike epistle you call me 'your girl,' and nevertheless I am constrained to ask this question! I live so much in musing on you, that I cannot help this. But away with the doubt, the dream; you are mine, mine, ah! in my heart, eternally mine! Do you hear nothing stirring round you, sweetest of men, not in the moonlight, when by the hour I am alone, and yet with you? Do you hear nothing? not my heart beat to you across space? Does not my angel hover round you, and sigh into your soul the tidings that I am with you? O sympathy, sympathy!" That was in 1775. In 1787 Schiller saw them married, and wrote to Körner, "Herder and his wife live in an egoistic solitude, and form together a sort of sacred twinity, from which every earthborn son is excluded. But as both are proud, both impetuous, this divinity comes to jars within itself. When they are in ill-temper with one another they sulk apart in different stories of the house, and letters pass up and down stairs incessantly, till at last the wife resolves to visit the room of her husband, in her own person. Then she enters reciting from his works the passage: 'One who has condescended thus far must be divine, and none can find fault in such.' Then the overcome Herder precipitates himself into her arms, and the quarrel is at an end."

Herder's temper was too uncertain, his sensibility too morbidly keen to permit him to live on good terms with those around him.

He was perpetually imagining some offence where none was intended, and lending every word and action an import of which their author probably had never even dreamt. Thus he fell out with Goethe and Schiller, and waged an angry feud with them. Cornelia, like a woman, fanned the strife, like a wife took her husband's side without questioning whether he were right or wrong. To Jacobi Herder wrote, "My wife is the mainstay, the consolation, the happiness of my life. Even in quick-flying transient thoughts, we are one."

Goethe, in his "Sorrows of Werther," fed the flame of false sentiment which pervaded the literary world. There were sorrowful Werthers everywhere, despairing Lottes, and suicide became fashionable. Heinrich von Kleist was of noble birth but mediocre fortune. Endowed by nature with every element of happiness, he seemed on his entrance into life to have before him a long career of prosperity. But he was filled with the morbid sentimental craze of the day. He broke off an engagement of years with a young and charming girl, who loved him with her whole heart, and was ready to make all imaginable sacrifices for him, because she would not create a romance out of the marriage his parents were ready to approve, by secretly eloping with him into a wilderness, to dwell a pastoral life in a cabin, instead of marrying him in the open light of day. Wieland and Goethe befriended him, and drew out his rare poetic and dramatic powers. He formed the acquaintance of a young and beautiful woman, Henriette Vogel. Both were passionately fond of music, and both were morbid to the verge of madness. On November 20, 1811, a young man and woman descended from a carriage at the door of a little inn, about a mile from Potsdam, on the banks of a lake formed by the Havel. They supped merrily, passed the night in writing letters, and next morning, after a slight repast, set off for a walk, desiring that coffee should be brought them in the most picturesque part of the valley. They had been absent for a short while when two pistol-shots were heard. The servant who went to seek them found them corpses. Henriette was lying full length at a trunk of an old blasted tree, picturesquely posed, with her hands folded on her bosom; Kleist was kneeling before her: he had shot himself through the brain. The curious part of the story remains to be told. Kleist was not in love with her. She had wrung from him a promise to do what she bid him, and then she proposed this double murder, which he, with a perverse sense of honour, executed according to her wishes and directions.

Louise Caroline Brachmann was another of these sick souls. She was a woman of genius and fine poetic instinct. If her novels did not rise above mediocrity, this was not the case with her verses. At the age of twenty-three, in a morbid fit, she flung herself over the banisters of her father's house, without, however, doing herself a mortal injury. In a craze of poetic passion, when aged forty-three, she eloped with a man some twenty years her junior, and, when she found that her bliss was not equal to what she had been led by her idealism to suppose, she threw herself by night into the river.

Goethe and Schiller were both sons of clever women. The Frau Räthinn Catharina Elizabeth Goethe was one whom princes and princesses were glad to associate with, for her genial wit—a wit which shone out even on her death-bed, when, an invitation to dinner having reached her, she sent back "her regards, but unfortunately the Frau Räthinn cannot accept it, being forced to die." Elizabeth Dorothea Schiller, the baker's daughter, was gentle, retiring, and tender; but she, as well as the "Frau Räthinn," was able to discern the buds of genius in her child, and devote herself to their development.

Goethe, engaged to Lili (Anna Elizabeth Schönemann), whom he loved, at one time, at all events, passionately, actually fell madly in love with another woman he had never seen, but whose perfections he had conjured up in his brain. This was Augusta, Countess of Stolberg, and for her sake, whom he could not possibly marry, so strict was the line of demarcation dividing nobles from bürger, he broke off his engagement to Lili.

"My dearest," he writes, "I will give you no name, for what are the names of friend, sister, beloved, bride, or even a word which would comprehend all these, in comparison with my feelings? I can write no more." To this he added his silhouette, entreating she would send him hers in return; the receipt of it seems to have filled him with delight. "How completely is my belief in physiognomy confirmed," he writes; "that pure thoughtful eye"—traced in gold on black paper—"that sweet firm nose, those dear lips. Thanks, my love, thanks. Oh! that I could repose in your heart, rest in your eyes."

At Weimar he loved, not indeed for the first, second, or third time, but with a warmth, a tenderness, and above all, a constancy, which neither the fair, innocent, and trusting Fredrica, nor the bright and graceful Lili, had been able to inspire. And yet the woman to whom was reserved the triumph of fettering for ten long years the heart of one of the most gifted and most inconstant of mortals, was no longer in the early bloom of womanhood; she had attained her thirty-third year, and Goethe was but twenty-eight. Beautiful, in the strict sense of the word, she had never been, but there was mingled grace, sweetness, and dignity in her demeanour, which exercised a singular fascination on all around her. Goethe, the young, the gallant, the admired of all admirers, was at once enthralled by her spell. "I can only explain," he writes to Wieland, "the power she exercises over me by the theory of the transmigration of souls. Yes! we were formerly man and wife. Now, I can find no name for us, for the past, the future." Unluckily Charlotte von Stein was already the wife of another, the mother of six children. That she returned the passion of her adorer cannot be doubted, but there is reason to believe she never transgressed the strictest bonds of virtue.[1] She was married while yet a girl to a man infinitely her inferior in mental acquirements, and for whom she could have little sympathy or affection. She was thrown, by her position as lady of honour to the Dowager Duchess, into the constant society of the young and brilliant genius, already the day-star of his age and country. Proud, may be, in her conscious virtue, she could not prevail on herself to break an intercourse replete with danger to herself and him, but one which flattered her vanity and charmed her mind. He entreated her to obtain a divorce and come to his arms, but this she constantly refused; and then, in a fit of disgust, Goethe threw himself at the feet of Christiane Vulpius.[2] Who would have imagined it possible that the great poet, living in a world of ideas peopled by forms of superhuman beauty and ethereal refinement, should be charmed and held by a simple ill-instructed woman with gold-brown hair, fresh cheeks and lively eyes, but essentially *common* in her order of mind and beauty. However, as Lord Lytton says—

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[1] She got back all her letters to the poet and destroyed them, to save them from becoming public property.

[2] As though he had been a prince, he gave her but his left hand when he married her. The marriage took place in 1806, seventeen years after the birth of his son. The young August von Goethe was born on Frau von Stein's birthday—Christmas Day, 1789.

> We may live without friends, we may live without books,
> Yet civilised man cannot live without cooks.

And Goethe found, in his old age, when his lively and clever daughter-in-law entered the household, that there was rest for his heated brain on the bosom of the devoted and careful Christiane. The cook and the sylph did not agree. The younger, fair, full of talent, and aristocratic whims, could not endure her mother-in-law, who, despite her good points, was nothing but a first-rate housekeeper, and whose charms consisted in preparing savoury dinners for the great man, and refreshing him, when weary, with good soup and somewhat coarse merriment. Doubtless, a sincere affection glowed in her bosom, but an intellectual companion for the poet and thinker she never could be nor pretended to be. Probably he did not ask it of her. He had had enough of clever women. He found in Christiane that fresh nature, always so delightful to a poet's heart, and he was disgusted with the artificiality of Weimar Court ladies. That he really did love her is proved by the fact that he, usually so cold, so composed, was completely overcome as he stood beside her dying bed; that he knelt down, took her hand, and exclaimed with passionate grief, "You will not leave me,—no, no, you must not leave me." He was then an old man—most of those who had belonged to his generation had passed away, and despite the homage and flattery that surrounded him, he felt that without that faithful heart he should be alone. With this homage the despised Christiane may rest content.

To Weimar came also Jean Paul Richter, who, in his "Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces," has left us so true a picture of the unwholesome striving of his day after an ideal woman, intellectual and angelic, and of its readiness to break a home-spun tie to attain to an union—spiritual, but also gross—with one of these exalted and emancipated souls.

Siebenkäs, advocate of the poor, a needy author, is engaged on the "Selections from the Devil's Papers"—a series of satires. He is married to Wendeline, a humble, hard-working, simple girl, whom the reader of "Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces" cannot help loving with all his heart The poor couple have only two rooms over a baker's; in one room they eat, and he writes, the other is the bedroom, and it opens out of the first. I must condense a scene.

"During the mute quarrel of the preceding days, Siebenkäs had unfortunately, whilst writing, accustomed his ear to listen to Lenette's movements; and every step and noise affected him and killed his hatching ideas, as a loud report will kill a brood of silkworms. At first he kept his feelings under tolerable control; he reflected that his wife must move about, and so long as she was in the body could not handle furniture and glide through the room noiselessly as a sunbeam. However, on the morning on which they had patched up their difference, he said to his wife, 'If possible, Lenette, don't make much noise to-day, it disturbs me in my literary labours.' 'I thought you could scarcely hear me,' she answered, 'I move so softly.' Woe to Siebenkäs; he had made the request in a foolish moment; now he had laid on himself the task of watching, all the time he was working, to see how Lenette conformed to his wishes. She tripped over the web of her household work with light spider's feet; and Siebenkäs was forced to be very much on the alert to hear her hands or feet; but with an effort he heard, and little that passed escaped his attention, kept now on a strain. When we are not asleep we pay more attention to slight noises than to loud ones; so now ear and soul were awake counting her steps, and working him to such a pitch of irritation, that he jumped up, and cried to his creeping partner, 'I have been listening for hours to this muffled pit-a-pat. Put on iron clogs, I should prefer that. Go on as usual, dearest.' She obeyed, and went about as much as possible in her usual manner. As he had abolished her loud walk, and her quiet walk, now he longed to do away with her intermediate walk; but no man likes to contradict himself twice in one morning. In the evening, however, he begged her to go about in her stocking soles whilst he was writing.

"Next day he sat in judgment on everything that was going on behind his back, questioning in himself whether it was absolutely necessary for Lenette to do it, or whether she might not have let it alone He bore it with tolerable fortitude till

Wendeline went into the bed-room and swept the straw under the bed with a long broom. Without rising from his seat he called to the domestic sweep in the bed-chamber: 'Lenette, pray don't scratch and scrape with that broom, it prevents my thinking.' Lenette now became quiet by degrees. She put away her broom and only pushed three ears of straw and some flue under the bed with the whisk. Quite beyond his expectations, the editor of 'The Devil's Papers' succeeded in hearing this, whereupon he got up, went to the chamber-door, and called out, 'Dearest, the hellish torment is as great as ever, so long as I can hear at all.' 'I have done now,' she answered, and she softly closed the door as he resumed his work. But that was too much: he concluded there was something brewing, so he laid aside his pen and called, 'Lenette, I can't hear what you are at, but I know you are doing something. For God's sake let it alone.' She answered, with a voice trembling with the violence of her exertions, 'Nothing. I am not doing anything.' He arose and opened the door of his torture chamber. His wife was rubbing away with a piece of grey flannel, scouring the rails of the bed."

Siebenkäs goes to Baireuth, where he makes the acquaintance of a Natalie Aquiliana: "a female figure, clad entirely in black, with a white veil, holding a faded nosegay in her hand," who, standing before a jet-d'eau, thus for the first time addresses him: "Whence is it that a fountain raises the spirits and the heart, but that this visible sinking, this dying of the water-streams from above downwards, gives me a feeling of anxiety every time I see it? In life this terrible falling in from above is never made visible to us." Here was a soul full of sentiment which could moralise over a squirt. Siebenkäs rushes into the wood and meditates on divorcing Lenette. Eventually he plays a cruel trick on his wife: pretends to die, has a wax figure buried in his place, and then flies to find æsthetic happiness by melting his soul into that of Natalie.

Goethe had reversed the experiences of Siebenkäs. He had tried many soaring dream-wrapped Natalies, and had found them intolerable as companions. He found rest for his soul on the simple affection and in the good cooking of a Lenette. St. Peter of Alcantara lay with his head against a spike to keep him awake, but he was imbecile. Men of active intellects exact of their wives that they should be their mental and material pillows, not domestic goads to sting them to fresh activity. An explosive genius is happier plugged with a cork than matched with a lucifer. Jean Paul himself was too wise to bind himself to either Charlotte von Kalb or Emilie von Berlepsch. When Richter came to Weimar, Frau von Kalb[1] laid herself out to win him. They wrote daily to one another. She was some years older than Richter and had a husband, but at that time *that* was nothing. Her imposing exterior, the fire of her large dark eyes—a fire of mingled genius and voluptuousness—the grace and vigour of her language, the exalted sentiments she gave utterance to, her passionate emotions, that might consume as well as warm, made at once a strong impression on Richter. She was the original of his Linda in the "Titan." She had admired his writings before she saw him, and when she made his acquaintance she threw herself at his feet. Genius was god-like, and to a god everything may be granted. She was daily with him, sent him books and newspapers, and procured for him every convenience she could obtain, and introduced him to the whole circle of her friends. A few days after his arrival at Weimar he wrote to Otto: "She has two great things, great eyes, such as I never saw before, and a great soul. She speaks as Herder writes on humanity. She is strong, full, and her face—I would I could describe it. When she raises her heavenly eyelids, it is as though clouds were lifted from the face of the moon. Over thirty times she repeats to me, 'You are a wonderful man!'" On leaving Weimar he wrote a little piece, "Mondfinsterniss," in which he expressed his feelings on female virtue, and his abhorrence of all but legitimate unions, and sent it to Charlotte. She then showed herself in her true colours. She was saturated with the æsthetic doctrine then fashionable in German cultivated society, that all virtue is from within, and that the external relations of life are of little consequence in a moral point of view. Nature was divine; its voice must be listened to and obeyed. "Religion," she wrote, "is nothing but the unfolding and elevation of all our powers and the direction of our natural instincts. The creature should suffer no restraints. Love obeys no laws." Richter was shocked, and an estrangement ensued. Frau von Kalb offered to divorce her husband if he would take her, but he declined the doubtful honour. Emilie von Berlepsch, a young widow, was the next to assail him; she met him when his heart was bleeding for his mother's loss, and she took occasion to ingratiate herself into his affections. He wrote to Otto, "I have found the first female soul that I can completely unite with without weariness, without contrariety; that can improve me while I improve her. She is too noble and perfect to be eulogised with a drop of ink."

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[1] Ten years before she tried the same game on with Schiller.

Emilie wrote to him, when they parted, after he left the baths where he had accidentally met her, "Follow your heart when it speaks for me, for notwithstanding all your sympathy and goodness, there hangs about me a doubt. Do not regard any impediments which may stand between us. What we lose at present eternity can not restore. There is for me only one real, pure joy, and in no future life can there be a higher—the sympathy of my soul with yours. Ah! as yet we have said nothing to each other. I do not pray you to love me, but to look into the unfathomable heaven you have created in me. If you can admire that, you will never destroy it. Would that I could write to you something more of thought than of feeling! I, who am nine parts reason, and one miserable tenth part heart, forget all logic when, pen in hand, I correspond with you. I become a susceptible girl again when writing to you." But Richter would not be drawn into the whirlpool. He wrote to his friend from Weimar: "The Berlepsch is here! I find in her a soul that is not below my ideal, and I should be happy in her friendship, if she would not be *too happy* with me." He knew that such stormy heroines as Berlepsch and Kalb were never formed as wives for him. He needed a mild and gentle spirit, in whose unselfish love he could find a sanctuary for his heart. Though Emilie was the Natalie of Siebenkäs, he was prepared to reverse his tale, run away from her, and seek a Lenette. He knew intuitively that with a Berlepsch he could have found no repose, with Frau von Kalb no security. Men do not attach themselves to rockets; they prefer to observe them from a distance. Richter married unhappily after all.

The poets and philosophers of the Transition made their own experiences; but in making them they wrought sad mischief with their æsthetic theories. They taught that the perfection of life was found in the pursuit and worship of the beautiful; and religion is but the sentiment of the beautiful. Finely constituted souls can only exist in a state of æsthetics. Such souls have an affinity for each other and naturally combine. The relations of social life are subordinate, and made or unmade according to the 'elective affinities' of these ethereal spirits. Along with this æstheticism went an extravagant, sentimental expansiveness; in family or friendly unions the freest play was given to the expression of the tenderest emotions. Tears and embraces were so much in vogue that, if two of any company were at all justified in indulging in them, the rest fell on one another's necks from pure sympathetic contagion. In these duels of emotion the seconds were expected to support their principals, and to be as ready with their tears as their ancestors were with their swords. The fashion was not confined to silly people, who had no ideas beyond the circle of their feelings, but infected, as we have seen, the most educated and intellectual classes. And yet, in the midst of these sighs and maunderings, the foundations were laid of that comprehensive culture which is the pride of German thought, and the restoration was begun of the ruined temple of womanliness wrecked by the brutalities of the rococo period. It was an age of classic love of beauty, mediæval sentimentality, and modern rationalism; and the three elements combined, with much spluttering and not a little heat, to form in the end the solid civilisation of the present generation.

Among the Protestant courts and in the circles of the literary, Christianity was regarded as an exhausted belief; what religion was professed was Deism; but it was a Deism without ethic obligations. Men and women alike, when they rejected the dogmas of Christianity and reverence for Scripture, lost the grounds of a sound morality, and in the cultivation of hysterical sentimentality thought everything was justified which poetry could gloss and passion sublimate. This aberration meets us in Bürger's relations to women. We see there a fever of sentiment, glorified by the might of poetry, and lifted into the sphere of spirituality, regardless of all first principles of sober ethics. Bürger says of his Molly: "In this costly, heaven-souled being the flower of sensibility savours so exquisitely that the finest organs of spiritual love can scarce perceive the aroma." Intoxicated by this aroma, however, he did not hesitate to make Molly his more than spiritual wife, and mother of a son, beside his real wife, her sister Dorette.

and to present himself in public with the two sisters as his two wives, and glorify the union as made divine by the Olympian halo which surrounded it. The life of a later poet, Clemens Brentano, one of the Romantic school, tells the same story, but it tells also of woman exercising a benign and healing influence on a torn and ruined life. As student at Jena, he fell in love with Sophie Mereau, a poetess, then thirty years old, wife of one of the professors, and after three years' struggle to overcome their mutual passion, Sophie divorced herself from her husband and flew into the embraces of the young poet. In the third year of her second married life Sophie died, and left Brentano to ramble through the world in quest of another heroic soul, guitar in hand, singing sweet songs, wherewith to charm them. In Frankfurt, at the house of the banker Bethmann, he met Augusta Busmann, an extravagant girl, who concealed a cold and empty heart and a frivolous mind under the veil of phantastic, fiery enthusiasm. She fell desperately in love with the black curls of the poet, and succeeded in entangling him in a romantic intrigue. In cloud and darkness she fled with him from the house of Bethmann to Cassel. Brentano was, in spite of his vagaries, a man of honour, and he married Augusta there; "but even before the marriage," writes one of his friends, "he was convinced that the unintellectual bride would not make him happy—however, he felt it his duty to complete the transaction. Even on the way to church ideas of flight filled his head, and he turned back with the purpose of escape, but his sense of what was due to her made him abandon the attempt as soon as initiated. He stepped back into the carriage and his obligations. Wonderful things are told us of the wedded life of this young couple. A few days after the marriage she flung the wedding-ring out of the window, and this wounded deeply the sentimental geniality of Brentano's heart. Not less was he vexed when his wife capered down the street with a plume of ostrich feathers on her head and a scarlet flapping horsecloth thrown over her shoulders."

Stramberg says, in his "Antiquarius," "Of all the torments which Brentano had to endure, that which most aggravated him was the skill with which she could and would drum with her feet on the foot of the bed whilst playing a pizzicato with her nails on the sheets; this drove Brentano so wild, in his high-strung, nervous condition, that before the year was out he ran away and obtained a divorce." For some years he wandered over Germany, restless, consumed with the power of his poetic soul, seeking peace and finding none. The years of youth and self-delusion were over. An insuperable contempt for the hollowness and inflated falseness of the social life of the intellectual circle in which he moved and was admired weighed down his soul. The night of a solitary old age threatened. He had tasted what life offers as pleasure, and it had left bitterness on his tongue. He seemed to be, in his own words—

A wand'ring shadow only, a poor player,
Who storms and paces for his petty hour,
Then drops back into nothing—but a ballad
Sung by a tramp—all clamour, rage,
But meaning nothing.

Brentano was in this condition of mind when he met Louise Hensel, who transformed his whole life.

"In September 1816," says a contemporary, "one Thursday evening, Clemens Brentano came into a social *réunion* in Berlin, in a house where the noblest in rank and genius of the land were wont to gather. At first there were few persons present; the son of the house and an old friend were engaged in telling a young girl that the distinguished, gifted Clemens Brentano was coming, and would read them something. His wit, his sarcasms, etc., were spoken of, and as the word 'gifted' was used very often in describing him, the young lady, who had been listening with the deepest interest, exclaimed: 'If he be *gifted* only, and have nothing beside, he may be a man much to be pitied and most miserable' At that moment the poet was at her side, and said, gloomily, 'Good evening?' The company were startled. The folding-doors into the adjoining room had been left open, and the floors were carpeted, and lamps turned down. Nobody knew when he had entered, and how much of what had been said had come to his ears. Some feared his wit would repay their remarks with biting sarcasm. Only she who had last spoken seemed undisturbed, thinking that her observation might have been taken as one of general application. She received his salutation without embarrassment, and offered him a seat at her side on the sofa. He looked fixedly and gloomily into her face, and said: 'My God!

how like you are to my sister Sophie, whom I have lost!' 'I am glad I am like your sister, and glad also that we shall hear you read. Pray begin.' He read something from his 'Victoria' and from the 'Founding of Prag,' was unusually cheerful, and charmed all the company, and he was made to promise to be at the receptions every Thursday."

That evening opened a new chapter in Brentano's life. In a long letter he poured out into the bosom of this girl the confession of his misery, of his ruined life. "'In vain' is the legend written over my whole career, inscribed in fire on my heart and stamped on my brain. All my acts, my thoughts, my scheming, my sufferings, have been in vain. When I was—if not better—at least more innocent, I sought a being like you, to whom I could devote myself, one who might lead me, inspire me. I associated with the ablest men, but they followed their own pursuits; they went their own way and left me standing alone, with the salutation, 'God helps those who help themselves?'"

An answer came to this strange epistle, one quite other than he had expected. "What can it profit you to tell all this to a young girl? You are a Catholic. Seek comfort in your religion."

This was a word of advice the brother of Bettina, the associate of the most brilliant intellects of Jena and Berlin, had never heard before. He had made many confessions of his misery and of the desolation and despair of his soul, and these confessions had always been introductions to interesting discussions, poetic exchange of letters, metaphysical disputes, sometimes to quick-blazing friendships; but the end of all was nothing. He was left, as before, in the mire. Now he was told plainly, by a woman's lips, that all his gifts were nothing without a *something* else; that genius, poetic exaltation, did not lift into peace of mind, and that without God the most gifted man might find his life a hell.

The advice of Louise was too new for him to adopt it all at once. He had been baptized a Catholic in infancy, and there his relations with the Church and Christianity had ended. He had never been brought under their influence, never dreamed of looking to them for consolation. And now the spoiled, flattered poet was not the man to yield without a struggle. A passion such as he had never known before possessed his heart, and broke out into those exquisite hymns of pure love, "An Louisen," which are immortal. His suit for the hand of Louise was in vain. The young friend would help him to a new life, but not be associated with his passion. Months passed in desperate battle with his heart; and then he sang:—

> Schweig, Herz! kein Schrei!
> Denn Alles geht vorbei,
> *Doch dass ich auferstand*
> Und wie ein Irrstern ewig sie umrunde
> Ein Geist, den sie gebannt,
> *Das hat Bestand.*

Then he took her advice, and a peace, "such as passeth man's understanding," came over the stormy soul. The rest of his life was one of happiness—at all events, of rest. If he was foolish enough to chronicle the hysterical twaddle of an Anna Katharina Emmerich, the fault lies in a judgment never naturally strong and wholly uncultivated. It is pleasant to see, after the period of false sentiment, a woman resuming her proper position, as man's comforter and revealer of God.

Let us look at another instance, at the influence of Sophie Schwab on Lenau—that strange, crazy genius, full of force and pathos, but with a mind unhinged, that foamed itself away at last in a mad-house. Sophie Schwab,[1] with gentle solicitude, kept her cool hand on his fevered brow. How beautiful is one of her letters to him. "Auersperg is indeed a poet, but not like you; in spite of his talents, he does not come near you. I should never have thought of applying to him what I saw the other day on the Danube, and which painfully reminded me of you. A poor Croat, a pilgrim, was in his little boat on the river. He stood in his vessel in poverty-stricken, sackcloth blouse, sculling purposeless here and there, his gloomy, heavy eyes resting on the flood, regardless of the people on the banks who watched his wondrous course. His hat he must have cast aside—he stood bare-headed in the sun.

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[1] Sophie, the wife of Lenau's friend Gustave Schwab. Schurz, in his interesting Life of his brother-in-law, expresses the doubt whether any poet exercised a greater power over women of genius than Lenau. Schurz gives many letters by the poet to Sophie, but not many of hers to him. Sophie's father's country-house was at Penzing, near Vienna. See Schurz: *Lenau's Leben.* Stuttgart, 1855.

He had no clothes, no bread, no bottle in his canoe—only one great green wreath, which he had slung on his pilgrim's staff planted in the forepart of the vessel, like an ensign. Was not that the picture of a true poet? *Your* portrait, dear Niembsch.[1] Have you not been swayed about thus in life, in a light boat, on the wild dark stream, with eyes fixed on no shore, with hat thrown away, preserving only your poet's wreath in place of every other earthly good? And when others seek to cover their heads, you have offered your noble, stately head to sun and lightning, snow and storm, surrounded only by the beautiful green, ever-green wreath, which gives no protection. The glossy leaves of the laurel adorn indeed but shelter not—they will not ward off the bluster of these rough days, and therefore you are ill."

But I must not delay longer to speak of one most remarkable woman, the much admired Rahel. The French Revolution had broken up the "salon" of old French society, when it had acted such an important, and in some respects, it must be owned, such a fatal part in giving literature its pervading tone. But despite all its sins, and its frivolity, it cannot be denied that the pre-Revolution society in Paris was more brilliant, more agreeable, than that of the present era. The men were more amiable, for their principal business in life was to please; the women more delightful, for they found themselves the central point of attraction, and all their charms of mind and manners were called forth to preserve that ascendancy. In Germany, the salon, in the sense in which it was understood in France, was scarcely known. But the Revolution of 1789, which destroyed for ever—at least in their original form—the salons of Paris, gave birth to those on the other side of the Rhine. Rahel's salon was for a long time the central point of the society of Berlin. She was the wife of Varnhagen von Ense. Mundt calls her a "thyrsus-swayer of the thoughts of her time," and it is certain that she exercised an unaccountable witchery over the geniuses of that day. She was wedded to a man fifteen years younger than herself—a man who, if not endowed with talents of the first order, was yet a writer of no mean rank, and this man she inspired to the last moment of her existence with a veneration and devotion rarely paralleled in the history of wedded life. Goethe, of whom, it is true, she was an idolator, returned her homage with respect and esteem. Jean Paul declared "she was unique in her way, and her letters from Paris worth a dozen volumes of travels." Humboldt declared of her that "truth was the distinguishing feature of her intellectual and moral being." She possessed in the highest degree womanly instinct for what is right and beautiful. Her mind was richly stored, her powers of description great. But the real source of attraction lay in her marvellous power of sympathy. She possessed the rare and invaluable gift of thoroughly identifying herself with those around her, of reading the most secret depths of their hearts, of living in their life, and of participating in the fulness, as if they were her own, of their joys and sorrows. Slight, frail, and delicate, with an extraordinary nervous sensibility, and an imagination vivid almost to morbidness, she was utterly unable to live without love, or without a friendship which had almost the warmth of love. Her youth had been twice darkened by blighted hopes and affections. The first love had been compelled to yield to family considerations. The second, still more fervent, perished from its own excess, for in such natures the most intense happiness is often withered up by its own ardour. It was in 1802, on recovering from the long illness, the result of this bitter delusion, that Rahel, abjuring love, as she believed for ever, formed the project of assembling a chosen circle, by means of which she might act beneficially on the minds of her countrymen. Her success was greater than she could have anticipated. All the celebrities of the day gathered round her, and her salon became the centre of intellectual culture and activity.

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[1] Niembsch (Nicholas) von Strehlenau was his real name: Lenau is the latter half of his Hungarian surname.

Quite a different character was the elfish, charming Bettina, the sister of Clemens Brentano, married to Achim von Arnim. Bettina's home, by birth and marriage, was in the Romantic school, and her inner mental organisation is traceable in a marked sense to Novalis. Bettina was everything that was delightful in woman in the springtide of her beauty, buoyancy, and freakishness. Her playful spirit dances in the sunbeams and over the flowers, casting flashes and prismatic colours about her like a humming-bird. She entered into familiar epistolary correspondence with Goethe, and her book, "Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde," an epistolary poem, as it has been often called, is one of the most fascinating works of German literature, a romance spun out of some facts.[1]

Bettina was half Puck, half Ariel. Her delicate susceptibility, her marvellous *rapport* with all nature, with the inexhaustible treasure of her love, and her religious sympathy with everything that can ennoble and hallow mankind, would have made her the greatest poetess of all times, if she had only understood one essential, the mystery of discipline, of restraint, of proportion. With Rahel and Bettina we close this series of sketches of the women who composed part of the literary world of the Transition. With a few bright exceptions, the sketches are not pleasing. Whenever the German woman stepped out of the kitchen, she fell into the sewer. But the fault lay, not in her, but in her preceptors. They exacted of her a life for which she was unsuited. Of all women in creation, the Germans are least able to maintain a healthy activity on moonbeams and the pollen of lilies. It takes three things to fly a kite—the kite, a string, and someone on the earth. One kite will not fly another; if the attempt be made, both come headlong to the ground. When the man is soaring, the woman must keep her feet on the soil; and the only safety for the aspiring genius lies in the maintenance of the bond between them, and their occupying relatively opposed positions.

In the Transition period, the education of woman was one-sided, her sentiment and not her mind was drawn out, the very element in her composition which demands most restraint. Of moral principle there was none. Old things were passed away, and a new order had not come in. Those who had surrounded her made her inhale nitrous-oxyde, and lauded her as ethereal if she stood on her head:

> Auf den Füssen geht's nicht mehr,
> Drum gehn wir auf den Köpfen.

She forgot, or was taught to disbelieve, that she was held down by gravitation. She was outside the reach of that attraction. But the extravagance of this doctrine led to a remedy. We find all through that period men raising a protest, and women living it;

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[1] "She was one of those phantasts to whom everything seems permitted. More elf than woman, yet with flashes of genius which light up whole chapters of nonsense, she defies criticism, and puts every verdict at fault."—G. H. Lewes: *Life of Goethe.*

and the voice and example of nature and common sense prevailed. The reaction set in. The ideal of German men now is the good housekeeper. They ask of woman only blue eyes, a bust, and economy; to be like Orlando's mistress,—

> The fair, the chaste, the unexpressive she.

To be without colour is the highest virtue in the woman and the diamond; the husband's wedding present to his bride—his Morgengabe—is a cookery book. He desires her to remember nothing of her school-learning but her table of aliquot parts.[1]

Richter wrote amid the devastation wrought by setting the æsthetic ideal before women, "A spiritual, and more important, and more murderous revolution than that in the political world is now beating in the heart of the nation." The men of Germany, whether literary or not, saw this at last, and put a price on the heads of æsthetic women, as Edgar did on the wolves. Reviewers wrote them down, critics cut them up. As children order ladybirds, ladybirds to fly away home, for their house is on fire and their children will burn, so society in Germany ordered emancipated female souls back to the domestic nursery and cuisine. "Women and gouty legs are best at home." The days of Faustrecht returned, but the fist was only used against women who broke loose. A literary woman in society caused as much consternation as a bear in an Alpine village. All the population turned out in arms against the common foe. Nobles by feudal law could only be executed with the sword. Noble female souls may be knocked down or skewered with any weapon, a rolling-pin or a dung-fork. Clever men have no more scruple in torturing them with ridicule than cruel boys have in spinning cockchafers.

A neighbouring naturalist introduced a frog into his garden to keep down slugs. Next day his outdoor servant came to him, holding up the reptile by one leg, the life stoned out of it, and said, with his honest face all smiles, "I fund un on the walks, sir, and I deaded un." No one who has not lived in Germany can realise the exultation, the pride, with which an authoress who has trodden the paths of literature is held up to general scorn, with a "Please, sir, I deaded un!" Auerbach, in his "Auf der Höhe," has shown the dangers of æstheticism and Platonism, how heads held "in the heights" are likely not to see the pebbles in the path, and bring about a fall and bruises. In the "Dorfgeschichten," the lofty-minded schoolmaster, with highly polished intellect, finds that happiness most pure and cloudless is to be found only in the love of a very simple heart, and that the freshness of ignorance is water to the tongue of abstract thought. In "Die Frau Professorinn," the moral is the same. The artist, flattered by the beauty and wit of the salons of the "Residenz," neglects his peasant wife, who talks broad Black-Forest, till brought to his senses, and to a right appreciation of her value, by finding how the prince does homage to her "edeles Herz;" and by the discovery that the unsophisticated woman is the most splendid of the works of nature.

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[1] Heine truly said: "Die deutsche Ehe ist keine wahre Ehe. Der Ehemann hat keine Ehefrau, sondern eine Magd, und lebt sein isoliertes Hagestolzleben im Geiste fort, selbst im Kreis der Familie."—*Gedanken und Einfälle.*

German writers have conspired to disparage in every way female aspirations after a life outside the walls of her house, and to exalt as her ideal the condition of a tame domestic animal. As housewives in Germany keep fowls in hutches by the kitchen fire, where the warmth is conducive to their fattening and egg-productiveness, so have the husbands enclosed their women, and for much the same objects. They will not endure to allow them the run of their gardens, lest they scratch up the best flowers of their invention and busk on their best raked systems.

The poets of the Transition had incautiously, like the fisherman in the Arabian tale, taken the leaden seal of Solomon off the jar, and a spirit had risen out of it, that filled the sky and threatened society. By hook or by crook the spirit must be got into the jar again, and pitched once more into the sea to lie there till the day of doom. For the purpose of laying the emancipated spirit of womanhood, writers have, like Tobit, had recourse to not a little gall. But there is no necessity for continuing the smoke when the fire is banished. It was men who inconsiderately had whipped the quiet souls of women into froth and flummery, and all that was needed was to let them stand to settle to their proper levels.

If it was a mistake to emancipate them a hundred years ago, it is a worse mistake to chain or manacle them now. For the last fifty years, however, men have persistently refused woman a nobler vocation than to haggle over market produce and lard veal like a "fretful porcupine." One door only has been left open to her, by which she may escape the kitchen, and that leads upon the stage. There she is allowed to display her talents, for there she is only illustrating the works of men. But even there recognition of her powers has been but grudgingly bestowed. If she has attempted to write dramas, she has had to follow and reflect the passing humours of the people, or see her pieces hissed down. It was this debasing necessity which prevented Birch Pfeiffer from becoming a great dramatist. Public taste refused to be led by a woman, but not to be flattered by her.

In art she has been allowed to do nothing. Angelica Kauffmann had to seek customers in England. If she must paint, let her daub Edelweiss and Alpine roses on men's cigar-cases. In music it is not to be expected that woman will ever make herself a name. Music and architecture are the two arts which demand a creative power, and creativeness is a masculine prerogative. Woman will execute, but man must design. She has ability rather than intellect. She is mentally as physically conceptive, and her function is not to beget. She may shine in painting, for she can copy, and has a keen selective appreciation, but for music and architecture initiation is required, and that woman has not. In no cosmogony is the creative power fabled to be female, for the general observation of mankind has denied to the feminine mind the gift of originativeness. For the same reason she has fancy, but not imagination, which is the initiation of creation, the first "moment" in calling of being out of not-being. Her poetry will, therefore, be a mosaic of impressions, a sympathetic reading of nature, a bright play about things of beauty, never the calling into existence of things that were not.

But fancy, ability, and artistic aptitude have been mercilessly denied her during the last half century. Science has been closed to her as well as art. And in literature she has been allowed but little range—to translate from the English and write nursery tales. If she has ventured timorously into other fields, there has been a springing of rattles, a hooting and whooping, and she has had to fly scared to shelter. There has been a want of generosity in the treatment of clever women. Men have killed as ruthlessly the firstlings of her brain as Pharaoh did the first-born of the Hebrews. On the earliest scent of an authoress, critics have set themselves round the publisher's door like terriers about a rat-hole, waiting to fall on and worry the poor little production when it appears.

My naturalist neighbour, already quoted, had a monkey and a parrot sent him from the tropics. The one and the other had had their minds opened since they left their native woods. The monkey in the kitchen had learned how to pluck a fowl, and the parrot in the cockpit, on the voyage, had acquired a breadth and freedom of expression neither suitable for society, nor proper to her sex.

One day, free from mistrust and anticipations of evil, like Charity impersonified, their master went for a constitutional, leaving his pets together in the study, the one engaged in cracking nuts, the other in pluming and praising herself. No sooner was the door closed, than the monkey laid hold of the parrot, placed her between his knees, and regardless of screams and objurgations—plucked her clean. On the return of their master, neither monkey nor parrot was visible. Seeing the perch deserted, he called, "Poll, pretty Poll, where are you, Poll?" Whereupon, from behind the window-curtain, hopped the wretched bird, as naked as her master's hand, and shrieked in tones of mingled mortification, rage, and pain, "We've had a hell of a time, sir! a hell of a time!"

The story may be applied with perfect justice to authoresses and their critics in Germany. The latter, with the malice or envy of their tribe—for the most merciless critic is ever the most incompetent author—have been inexorable in their treatment of lady writers. They have ruthlessly riven off their every beauty on which they plumed themselves, and have sent them hopping out into the world, more naked than they came into it. Considering the treatment gifted women in Germany have received during the last fifty years, they are justified in exclaiming with the parrot,—"We've had a hell of a time, sir! a hell of a time!" But there is a point below which you cannot compress steam. Women have begun to make their voices heard, and to show that their voices are worth listening to. They are insisting that they have a position to fill in the economy of social life above that of household drudges. They will neither be the toys nor the slaves, but the help-mates of man. The man is incomplete without the woman, and the woman without the man. This is the burden of the cry of the female writers of the present day. Marlitt shows us, in "Das Geheimniss der alten Mamsell," her heroine, Felicitas, condemned to kitchen-work and to study her hymn-book, and pictures the burning passion of the growing mind for knowledge and freedom. In "Die Zweite Frau," we have a cultivated woman in married life asserting her mental power, and thereby conquering the affection of the man, who married her only to be his housekeeper and governess to his child. But a book of far greater power and pathos than any of Marlitt's is "Ein Arzt der Seele," by Frau von Hillern, in which she vindicates the right of woman to be the intellectual associate and complement of man, whilst she rightly repudiates her claim to be his equal.

The women have, in Germany, a very just cause for complaint. Since the first unsuccessful experiment, the men of Germany have excluded them from their society. In their clubs and taverns they spend their leisure, and pour out the wealth of their ideas among their fellow-men, but never in their homes. The women pass their lonely evenings over their knitting, or together, talking of babies. If the men appear at dinner, it is to eat and not to converse, to gobble their food and haste back to congenial society in the *café*. The wife and daughters are supposed not to look at a newspaper, or have knowledge or interests in anything which occupies the minds of the men. Divorce is the normal condition of married life—the divorce of souls; nay, rather let me say that external marriage never unites the minds, the minds never get further than bowing acquaintanceship.

Both sexes suffer from this estrangement. The elimination of women from society has had a deteriorating effect on men's minds and manners. It is this which causes the rudeness of exterior and coarseness of grit in the constitution of German men—a rudeness and a coarseness painfully ever-present to the observation of a foreigner. And it is this also that makes German women so incapable of using the good material which has been heaped up in their minds by education. The schools for girls are so excellent, and the instruction is so thorough, that a servant-maid in Germany is better grounded than most young ladies in England. But though the education given to women is admirable, they can make no use of it. With much less, English ladies can charm, and attach, and influence men: they may have little learning, but what little they have they know how to use; for they are taught how to use it by constant association with the other sex. In Germany, there is no such association, and therefore no such teaching. Knowledge acquired is not assimilated and never utilised. Finding it valueless, it is got rid of as quickly after marriage as may be. Matrimony is like iodine ointment for the absorption of muscle. It acts on woman as a solvent to all that should give vigour to her character.

There is a dish, much affected in Cornwall, called squab-pie. It is compounded of veal, pork, beef or mutton, potatoes, onions, apples and pilchards, the whole rolled up in strong dough. Nothing more repellent when raw, nor more toothsome when cooked.

Female education is much like the making of squab-pie. The heads of girls are stuffed with an infinity of ingredients most incongruous, but each excellent in itself. Social intercourse is the great digesting force in life. If girls' heads were submitted to this, the result would be quite perfect. But they are not. The German girl is kept at home till she is married. After the wedding the German husband peeps cautiously into his wife's brain, and finding there only crude junks of solid fact, and tenacious dough of pedantry, withdraws his fingers, wipes them, and declines staying for dinner.

German men are like English schoolboys, uncouth and boisterous. It is wonderful what a change a holiday with his mother and sister will produce on the manners of the schoolboy. It is a pity that German men should not submit themselves to be kneaded and rolled into shape and gentility by the tender fingers of their wives and daughters. There can be no sweeter, tenderer refiners in the world than German ladies. They fret out their little lives, because they are denied the right to execute their proper mission. And German men, full of right principle, steady endurance, genius, and power, have in them all the elements of the ideally perfect man. But one thing is lacking. The diamond must be cut, the silver refined. Let them put themselves unreservedly at the feet of their wives and sisters.

The advantage will be mutual. The woman will be strengthened whilst the man is being polished. The intellectual culture of the race has developed the mental powers of women as well as of men. The German woman has far more brain power than the English or French woman, infinitely more than the Spaniard and Italian; and with the admirable education given her, she is calculated to be man's best associate and confidant and help. What is remarkable is the persistence in Germany to the present day of the two types of Jarnsaxa and Goda, which appear and re-appear all through German history. Almost every one who has any acquaintance with German social life must have met with hard-headed, iron-willed, big-boned women, of loud voice, and intense self-assertion, very clever, but also intensely masculine,—army recruits in petticoats; but side by side with them are ever to be found women perfect in their womanliness, the very ideals of what woman should be—sweet, self-contained, tender, humble, with sound common-sense, and the gentlest of hearts. This is the most common type of all, and it is most lovable. The German girl has not the self-consciousness of the English damsel, the coquetry of the French, the lusciousness of the Italian, the dignity of the Spaniard—she is not, perhaps, lively enough, she is not *espiègle* enough, not dazzling, but she is maidenly modest, simple, and sweet. A German proverb says of the girls of Fatherland: "Every woman without a ring on the third finger is a witch." The witchery is that of Isabel in "Measure for Measure," and not of Circe.

> Can it be
> That modesty may more betray our sense
> Than woman's lightness?
>
> Act ii. sc. 4.

It is the witchery of a pure heart, great self-diffidence, self-sacrifice, and a rich, ripe mind.

> Ich mag in diesem Hexenheer
> Mich gar zu gern verlieren.[1]

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[1] Geothe: *Walpurgisnachtstraum.*

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION.

There is no darkness but ignorance.
Twelfth Night, act iv. sc. 2.

In 1878, the Canton of Aarau removed every restriction which prevented the free practice of medicine. Before the beginning of the year, the State allowed none to cut and physic who could not show their credentials and prove their qualification. No sooner was this restriction removed, than the Canton was invaded by a legion of quacks. If the death-rate be not raised, it will be surprising.

In England, in the matter of education, the State leaves the field clear to empirics. She makes no provision that the education of her children shall be sound and wholesome except only among the poor. A good rudimentary education is provided for the lowest class. No provision whatever is made for the upper and middle classes. No doubt the upper class is sufficiently alive to the importance of education, to take care of itself, but this is not the case with the middle class, which is ravaged by a legion of impostors.

In December, 1864, a Royal Commission was issued authorising Lord Taunton, Lord Stanley, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others to inquire into the state of the schools for secondary education. Their province was bounded on the one hand by the scope of the Commission of 1858 for inquiry into the state of the primary schools of the country, and on the other by the scope of the Commission of 1861 for inquiry into the state of the nine great public schools—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, etc. All the schools between these two categories fell under the new Commission.

The results fill twenty thick volumes of reports. Over eight hundred schools had to be separately inspected and reported on. The work of the Commissioners was divided into two parts, one of which followed as the consequence of the other. They had first to ascertain the present condition of our middle-class schools, and next to suggest means for their improvement.

The middle-class schools of England are of three distinct orders—endowed grammar-schools, proprietary schools, and private schools. All these fell under the terms of the Commission, but as the endowed schools formed the only class with which the State supposed it had a right to interfere, it was chiefly these which were examined and reported on. The proprietary and private schools, as the property of individuals, were not interfered with, on the grounds, which I cannot but think altogether mistaken, that the State was not justified in meddling with them.

There are in England and Wales 782 endowed schools, which in whole or in part devote themselves to the work of secondary education. They educate 36,874 boys. The nine great public schools educate 2,956, and the proprietary schools 12,000. This gives a total of less than 52,000 boys receiving secondary education in the endowed and proprietary schools of this country. As it was calculated in 1865 that there were 255,000 boys of the age and social status to require secondary education, it appears that there are over 200,000 boys left to be educated at private schools, that is, the public and proprietary schools educate less than 20 per cent. of our middle-class youth.

The condition of these private schools is not such as to make this fact an agreeable one to contemplate. In a set of establishments so numerous, and so varied, so entirely free from every kind of organisation and control, there must necessarily be every degree of goodness and badness. The Commissioners reported of such as they inspected that some were indeed "good" or "passable" but that many "were exceedingly bad." In some cases the masters were found to be intelligent and conscientious, in others to be incompetent. Some schools were the flourishing but rotten result of "successful charlatanism." On the whole, the condition of these schools was pronounced to be "lamentably unsatisfactory."

Among the more expensive sort of private schools there is a minority of good, and a majority of bad ones. The cheaper class of private schools seemed to be almost all bad. Bad premises, unqualified teachers, utter confusion, formed the principal features of most of the pictures of this class of school, painted for us by the official inspectors. Nearly fifteen years have elapsed since this Commission was appointed; and what has been done to remedy the mischief? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Another generation of our middle class is growing up in schools which are a disgrace to our civilisation, in which they are inadequately taught, their minds not educated, but crammed, their moral character debased.

In Germany no man may teach unless he has satisfied Government that he is qualified to instruct; and no school can be carried on in buildings not adapted to the purpose. In Germany the State supposes that it is responsible to the nation to see that the education given to *all* classes be wholesome and solid, and to ward off from it the perils of having its young incompetently, inefficiently, erroneously instructed. Before proceeding to see what the German system is, I wish here to bring before English readers the impression left on the mind of a German who has for some years been a master in our middle schools. I have compared his experiences with those of another German, and I find the report of both is the same. I may add that the gentleman whom I quote has passed through two German universities.

The ushers for the private schools are provided by scholastic agencies; these furnish masters of all sorts for schools, English as well as foreign. Here at once we strike at the root of one evil in these schools. The agency pockets a sum from the principal and from the usher on a new appointment. It is obvious, therefore, that the oftener a vacancy occurs, the more rapid is the return.

An usher is engaged at Christmas for 50*l.* He pays at once to the agent 2*l.* 10*s.* If he be dismissed at Easter, and the agent finds him another situation for the same sum, he gets again 2*l.* 10*s.* If the usher again loses his place, and is recommended for the third term to a similar situation, the agent pockets 7*l.* 10*s.* from him alone in the twelvemonth. How much he gets from the principal on each appointment I do not know. But each vacancy means two payments. An agent very unscrupulous, and desirous of making the most of his opportunities, finds it therefore in his interest to appoint bad men to good situations, and good men to schools where they cannot in self-respect remain. A good man in a good situation will stick there. But a man who is forced to leave every quarter is a goose that lays a golden egg four times in the year.

I do not assert that the agents act on this principle, but it is obviously in their interest to do so. If they do not, they rise superior to the system.

In Germany, a Government Board appoints on a vacancy occurring in a school. The Board examines the candidates, and nominates the most worthy or the most suited to the post. Since 1810, no teacher may open a school or go as private tutor who has not undergone examination. It is illegal for patrons or principals of schools to nominate any persons who have not proved their efficiency. A foreigner may not teach his native language without having obtained a *facultas docendi.* In England a host of incompetent persons pass themselves off as tutors and governesses who in Germany would be rejected by the Board.

We, in our dread of seeing the liberty of the subject curtailed, and Government interfering with matters social but not political, shrink from interference of this sort. But why should we? We expect the Government to stand between the child and its parents for its protection, when the father and mother brutally ill-treat it; the State will not allow the drunken parent to kick and break its tender bones, but allows him absolute freedom to cripple and distort its mental and moral faculties. We allow the School Board to enter the cottage and force the ignorant parent to send the children to school. The parent maybe sees no profit in learning, but the State knows better, and brushes his objections aside. It has a right to do so. But there we halt. The middle classes are worse provided for than the classes below. The State makes no provision for their education, or that the educators of them shall not be wretched impostors.

In Germany every stratum of society is treated with like impartiality, like justice. The State secures that the son of the day-labourer and the son of the prince shall alike have properly proved and authorised instructors.

In the Prussian Constitution of 1850 stands the following provision:—

"Every one is free to impart knowledge, and to found and conduct establishments for instruction, when he has proved to the satisfaction of the proper State authorities that he has the moral, scientific, and technical qualifications that are requisite. All public and private establishments are under the supervision of authorities named by the State."

That is to say, the education of the country is taken, like the post-office and the railways, into the hands of the State. The State will guarantee to the country that no man unqualified shall physic their bodies or educate their minds; it supervises the butchers' shops, that no diseased meat shall be sold, and the schools, that no unwholesome teaching shall be imparted. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Germans regard this as an exercise of a despotic authority on the part of the Government; they are thankful for it as a protection. I do not suppose that Londoners resent interference by the authorities with the dilution of milk with fever-infected water, and its adulteration with chalk and horsebrain. It is a nuisance to have to try your milk every morning with a lactometer, and the parent ought to be grateful not to be obliged to dip a lactometer daily in the instruction given to his sons. Germany is divided up into Bezirke—circles, each containing from six to twenty or thirty parishes. On entering a village the first object that strikes the traveller's eye is a board, on which is painted, first, the name of the village, second, the name of the Bezirk to which it belongs. The Bezirk, the smallest State division, is controlled by a civil officer, called a Landrath. Associated with the Landrath is a school-superintendent. Each parish has one elementary school or more, according to its requirements.

In order to bring the youth to these schools, education is made compulsory. Every child, male and female, from the age of six to fourteen, is obliged to attend school. Regular attendance at school is enforced, if necessary, by the police. The police-office of every village makes out a list of all children of school age, and hands it in to the local School Board connected with each school, which is then responsible for the children's attendance. The teacher keeps a list of absentees, marking those who are absent without reasonable excuse. This list he passes to the Board, which proceeds to admonish the parent, and if admonition proves ineffective, the paren is fined or sent to jail. In Saxony the number of compulsory years is eight, and every day missed during those eight years has to be made up afterwards; and this plan has been found to answer admirably. The usual hours of school are from eight o'clock till noon, and from two o'clock till four in the afternoon. The education given in these primary schools is of the most elementary condition. The general division of subjects during the week is this:—religion, six hours; reading and writing, twelve hours; ciphering, five hours; and singing, three hours. Nothing can be simpler or more practical; every incentive to the exhibition of superficial accomplishments is taken away. There are examinations, but they are not converted into opportunities of tormenting and puzzling the children, and stimulating the teachers to pretentiousness and hollowness. Mr. Pattison, in his Report on the Prussian schools in 1861, says of them, "They may aim at little, but the principle is to achieve it. It may look, too, like the cultivation of the imagination, but it is possessed of a practical spirit which permits of no showing off." The instruction is kept down to what is purely elementary, but that is required to be most thorough. The masters for these schools are provided from colleges, Government establishments, where they are trained. The cost of board is very trifling; and as the students do all their own serving except cooking, the whole expense is little more than the cost of their food. The instruction is distributed over three years. At the end of this period, the student is examined; if he passes he becomes a "Wilder," a wild man, and goes for three years as assistant in a large school, where he may learn the practical application of his knowledge. When this three years' probation is elapsed, the teacher is competent to take a parish school himself. His position is then one of respectability. The pastor, the schoolmaster, and the apothecary are the magnates and authorities of the village. Almost everywhere—I have not met with an exception—the village schoolmaster is a person it is a pleasure and profit to associate with. He is intelligent, well read, and full of interest in political and social questions, and always ready to impart local information on antiquarian and historical subjects, or matters of natural history.

Now let us pass to the higher schools. Of these there are two types, the classical and the commercial.

The classical schools are the "Progymnasium" and the "Gymnasium," leading directly to the university and to the learned professions. The commercial schools are the "Upper Bürger-Schule" and the "Real-Schule" leading to trade.

The Gymnasium has six classes, not numbered, as ours, from below, but from above: a sixth-form boy is not in Germany at the head, but at the tail of his school.

It is hardly necessary to describe the "Progymnasium," which is only a preparatory school for the other, and which is modelled on its type. In the Gymnasium the pupils in every class but the lowest get thirty hours' schooling at least in the week, those in the lowest get twenty-eight. There is one half-holiday, which is in the middle of the week. The first, second, and third classes are usually divided into upper first and lower first, and so on.

The following is the prospectus of hours and studies:—

Plan of Studies in the Gymnasium.

	VI	V	IV	IIIb	IIIa	IIb	IIa	Ib	Ia	Total
1. Religion . . .	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
2. Writing . . .	3	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	8
3. Drawing . . .	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
4. German . . .	2	2	2	—	2	2	2	3	3	18
5. Geography and History	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	25
6. Mathematics . .	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	32
7. Natural Science . .	2	2	—	2	2	1	1	2	2	14
8. French . . .	—	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	17
9. Greek	—	—	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	42
10. Latin	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	8	86
11. *a.* Latin *b.* English *c.* Hebrew } Voluntary extra hours										
Total .	28	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	268

The school hours are in the morning from seven to about eleven in summer, from eight to about twelve in winter; in the afternoon they are from two to four all the year round. Where there is not in the same town a Real-Schule, pupils at the Gymnasium are allowed to substitute English, or some other subject for Greek. But in the Gymnasium as in the Real-Schule, there is no attempt made at *special* training for a particular profession. This is strictly prohibited. The object of the education is to broaden the mind, and all specialisation, if undertaken before a broad basis be laid permanently, dwarfs the mind. There are colleges and faculties in the universities for special studies, but these must be entered on after a general and solid basis of culture has been laid.[1]

Of Real-Schulen there are several kinds. That with *nine* classes is the Real-Schule *par excellence.* That with *six* classes is usually called the Upper Bürger-Schule. There are also Real-Gymnasia, where Latin and Greek are taught. In the Real-Schulen Latin is taught, but chiefly in the lower classes. In the first it is given the minimum of time, three hours in the week; and in this class, and in the second, the time devoted to mathematics and the natural sciences amounts together to eleven hours a week. French has most time allotted to it, and English becomes a part of the curriculum of study. Drawing also assumes an importance not allowed it in the Gymnasium.

Plan of Studies in the Höhre Bürger-Schule.

	VI	V	IV	III	II	I	Total.
1. Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
2. German Language	6	5	4	4	4	4	27
3. French „	7	7	6	6	6	6	38
4. English „	—	—	3	3	4	4	14
5. Geography	2	2	2	2	1	—	9
6. History	—	—	2	2	2	2	8
7. Mathematics	4	4	3	2	3	3	19
8. Geometry	—	2	2	2	1	2	9
9. Geometrical Drawing or Descriptive Geometry	—	—	—	—	2	2	4
10. Physics and Natural History	2	2	2	4	2	3	15
11. Chemistry	—	—	—	—	2	2	4
12. Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
13. Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
14. Athletics	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
15. Writing	3	3	2	1	—	—	9
Total	32	33	34	34	35	36	204

The first class is divided into Upper (B) and Lower (A).

Class 1 consists of boys of from 11 to 12 years. The second class is similarly divided, and contains boys of from 12 to 13.

The third class, also divided in like manner, comprises boys from 13 to 14; the fourth class, undivided, is filled with boys of from 14 to 15; the fifth class with boys of from 15 to 16; and the sixth class with boys of from 16 to 18.

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[1] The cost of the education in the lowest class in the Gymnasium is forty-four shillings a year; in the higher classes (IV. and V.) fifty-four shillings; in the highest (I., II., III.) sixty-four shillings. The entrance fee is four shillings.

The school year begins on September 30.

The annual cost of education in the Upper Bürger-Schule is,—in the lowest class a *guinea;* in the fifth, fourth, and third classes thirty-one shillings; and in the two upper classes forty-two shillings. There is also an entrance fee of two to three shillings.[1] For this price a really first-rate education can be had. The teachers are all thoroughly approved men of learning and abilities.

English or other foreign boys are admitted to these German schools as "guests." That is, they attend school for half the day; they are allowed to attend the class lessons and lectures,—they can, if they like, remain the whole day, but this is hardly advisable at first. These pupils become gradually accustomed to hearing German, and become familiarised with the words and pronunciation. Later, they are asked questions with the class. This is a most admirable plan, when combined with private lessons at home. But it does not answer to send English boys to a German school, Gymnasium or Real-Schule, entirely, till they are thoroughly familiar with the language. One thing English boys have to learn, which is to them a difficult acquisition, and that is,—to sit still and give their whole attention to what is before them. If they do not, they are turned out of the school with very little ceremony.

An English officer writes to me: "My eldest boy went to the Upper Bürger-Schule here, at the age of fourteen, when I first came here. He is a quiet attentive lad, who makes use of his wits. I paid for him first forty shillings yearly, and then, when he got into the highest class, fifty-two shillings yearly. Before he was seventeen years of age he had passed into Woolwich, and passed ninth, being first in some subjects; and I believe he would have topped the whole lot if he had been up in classics, but at the Bürger-Schule he had not the opportunity of working on at them, and his Latin had been neglected since he left England. I attribute his success entirely to his work at the **Bürger-Schule**, and the excellence of the education there given."

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[1] This is the price for Upper Bürger-Schulen in Baden, at Karlsruhe, Pfortzheim, Heidelberg, Freiburg. It is much the same everywhere else. The payment is quarterly. If pupils come out of a preparatory school, there is no entrance fee paid. Guests pay a little more.

The education of girls has been also vigorously taken in hand in Germany, but is not as thoroughly systematised as that of boys. There are still a vast number of private schools, many most excellent, none thoroughly bad, or they would be put down by Government. In all these the education is moderate in cost. I sent my children under nine to a school conducted by a lady of rank, and paid for them one shilling each per month. A girl may obtain a thoroughly sound and superior education for seven pounds a year. But, in addition to the private schools are the public Höhre Töchter-Schulen, conducted under the auspices of the town. In Baden, the Government has drawn up a scheme of education for the upper girls' schools, and this is followed in all the establishments provided in the towns by the Council.

Plan of Studies of the Upper Töchter-Schule.

	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	*Ib*	*Ia*	Total
1. Religion . .	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	20
2. German Language .	9 wint. 7 sum.	9	8	7	7	5	4	4	3	3	1	60 58
3. Object-lessons .	3 wint. 2 sum.	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 7
4. Mathematics .	5 wint. 4 sum.	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	—	34 33
5. Singing . .	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	—	13
6. Writing . .	—	2	2	2	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	11
7. Handwork . .	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	18
8. French . .	—	—	—	6	6	5	4	5	7	7	4	44
9. Geography . .	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	1	—	—	11
10. Natural History .	—	—	—	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	15
11. Athletics . .	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	14
12. Drawing . .	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	—	12
13. History . .	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
14. English . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	4	4	2	18
Total . .	20 wint. 16 sum.	23	23	28	31	29	31	32	31	30	12	290 286

The school-year begins on May 1. In the three lowest classes the payment is 24*s.* a year, in the 7th to the 4th is 36*s.*, and in the superior classes 48*s.* There is also an entrance fee of 2*s.*

For a really trifling sum a first-class education for boys and girls may be had in Germany—an education, the like of which for completeness is not to be got in England. Many English parents are finding this out, and are migrating to Germany to avail themselves of this great privilege. This, of course, the wealthy can do; but not those who are tied down by their business. They must send their children to inferior English establishments, where for a third-rate education they pay an exorbitant price. A German schoolmaster, who had English boys under him as well as those of his own nation, said to me: "I cannot understand English boys. They play at their work, and they work at their play." This is a true remark. As a general rule they do not take interest in their lessons, and they do take a lively, vigorous, exhausting interest in cricket and foot-ball. German boys have no public games. All their energies are used up in their studies. They take no violent exercise except on the ice in winter. School-work is exhausting, and it takes all their energies out of them. In it they do take an interest. And the reason—or one principal reason—why they do, is because from early childhood it is impressed on them that their whole future depends on it. The Abiturienten-Examen is the day of judgment looming before the children's eyes, and their childish life is a solemn march to that *Dies iræ.* At the close of youth, before entering on manhood, comes the terrible day which irrevocably fixes their fate. Unless they issue from that examination with a testimonial of "ripeness," every learned profession is closed to them, and three years' military drill instead of one is their doom. As the boy goes to school, he passes the barrack-yard or the Platz where the recruits are drilling. He sees them posturing, goose-stepping, tumbling, fencing, marching in mud or snow; and he thinks "I shall have three years of this unless I work!" and it acts as a daily stimulus to exertion.

But this is not all. The German masters have the knack—the art, rather, for it is the result of experience and study—of making their teaching interesting to their pupils. The system is simply this—the development of the reasoning powers in the boy. This is the great aim of German education, to make thinking men; there is no effort made to store the mind with a multitude of facts, but there is every effort made to train the mind to build something out of any number of facts tossed capriciously before it—to teach it to analyse, compare, and classify them.

This is the theory of education of boys. It is not carried out as a system in the private girls'-schools; it is probably not as advisable. Accuracy of detail is perhaps more necessary in girls than broad principles. The memory deserves among them cultivation rather than the reason.

The examination of boys leaving school—the examination which determines whether they shall serve three years or one in the army, whether they shall enter the army, be schoolmasters, pastors, lawyers, physicians, etc.—is held about three weeks before the close of the half-year. The examining body is composed of the director of the gymnasium, and the professors who teach the first class, a representative of the School Curatorium, the Government Commissioners, and a member of the Provincial Board. The *Abiturient*, or leaving boy, must have spent two years in the head form He is examined in subjects on the same level as the teaching in this form, but he must *not* be examined in books and authors he has worked at in his class, and special care is taken to avoid "cram" qualifying for passing. He is examined *generally* in his mother tongue, Latin, Greek, French, mathematics and physics, geography, history, and divinity. Every effort is made to test the intelligence rather than the knowledge of the Abiturient. The paper work lasts a week, and then comes *vivâ voce.* Each performance is marked *insufficient*, *sufficient*, *good*, or *excellent*, and no other terms and no qualifications of these are allowed.

It will be seen from what has been said, how studiously the Germans avoid doing that which we, English, by our competitive examinations, labour to do. "So well do the Prussian authorities," says Mr. M. Arnold, "know how insufficient for their object—that of promoting the national culture and filling the professions with fit men—is the bare examination test; so averse are they to cram; so clearly do they perceive that what forms a youth, and what he should in all ways be induced to acquire, is the orderly development of his faculties under good and trained teaching. With this view all the instructions for the examination are drawn up. It is to tempt candidates to no special preparation and effort, but to be such as a scholar of fair ability and proper diligence may at the end of his school course come to with a quiet mind, and without a painful preparatory effort, tending to relaxation and torpor as soon as the effort is over."

Admirable as the German system of education is, I cannot but believe that too much mental work is exacted of the boys. The school hours are too long: at least seven hours in the day, and if, as is frequently the case, the pupils take up an extra subject, eight. To this must be added two hours in the evening of preparatory work for the morrow; this makes nine or ten hours a day at their books. As a natural consequence, they have no will or energy for physical exertion. Dr. Adolf Boginsky, in an article in the "Deutsche Medicin. Wochenschrift" for February 1, 1877, states as undeniable that the present system of education in Germany is producing three serious results. In the first place, children are becoming annually and in greater numbers more short-sighted; secondly, their physical health deteriorates; and, thirdly, the propagation of infection is encouraged. Into the third objection I will not enter, as to some extent inevitable. The other two demand more attention.

Short-sightedness is unquestionably on the increase, and is already interfering with the efficiency of recruits for the army. Dr. Boginsky attributes it to the use of slates. These get smudged, and the eyes are strained to decipher what is written on them. But this is not the only cause. In 1876 a Breslau physician published some interesting observations on the subject of defective vision. Short-sightedness, and sometimes entire loss of sight, seems to be one of the all but inevitable accompaniments of the dangerous art of reading. The unlettered peasant has almost always good eyes, and out of one hundred Silesian boors only two could be found whose sight was not in perfect condition. These clear-visioned labourers had naturally lived much in the open air; and though it is to be presumed that, in accordance with the law of compulsory education, they must all have been to school, they had somehow succeeded in not learning to read. Out of 10,000 school-children of the age of fourteen, on the other hand, it appeared that no fewer than 1,004 had suffered in sight, and were obliged either to use glasses or to abstain altogether from books; while of persons above the age of fourteen, whose eyes had been trained to read small and other print, no fewer than 63 per cent. were either short-sighted or in a greater or less degree unable to see. Of school-children under the age of six, 5 per cent. had already suffered in their eyes; up to the age of eleven, 11 per cent had been so affected; while the percentage rose to 19 per. cent at the age of thirteen; to 26 per cent. at the age of eighteen, and to 43 per cent. at that of twenty-one. Very few persons, it seems, are born with defective vision, and the figures above cited show that the injury done to the eyes by poring over "miserable books" is progressive from infancy to mature age.

A child's eyes, like its vocal organs and its fingers, are naturally capable of a great deal. In the pipe of the child are all the tones of every human language; and any infant could be educated to pronounce German gutturals, French nasals, or Hottentot lingual clicks. All notes are there *in posse*, but education restrains, rigidifies the organ of voice, and forms it into an instrument for the pronunciation of only a certain class of sounds. Up to fifteen a child can learn to pronounce any language. At that age its power of phonetic modulation is curtailed, and a language may be learned after that period, but never be pronounced properly. A child's fingers are capable of the most varied and rapid movements. If we take advantage of this flexibility and keep it up, it will become a skilful pianist; neglect it, and the muscles rigidify, and after fifteen it will be useless to teach it to play the piano. A child's eyes are capable of being focussed on objects remote or near. But if the child be taken, and for ten hours in the day be made to focus its eyes on tiny characters six inches off its nose, and this process be prolonged for twelve or fifteen years, then the eye is educated to short-sightedness. It is not given time for exercise in focussing itself on distant objects. A child naturally uses its left hand as readily as its right: we discipline it *not* to use the left hand. So with the eye. Naturally calculated to see what is distant as well as what is near, by our school exigencies we rob it of its facility to see what is afar, and screw it to a focus six inches beyond the tip of the nose. Curtail the hours of school, or in school use oral teaching instead of books, and rigidly forbid a child a book out of school, and it will not grow up to use spectacles.

Dr. Boginsky also says that the day's schooling in Germany leaves the boys in the evening prostrate, listless, and without appetite. They are apathetic to everything that encourages physical health, and at night suffer from want of sleep, or toss in their beds, and are afflicted with headaches. This is also true. "To be boy eternal"—the thought of Polyxenes—has little meaning in

Germany. There Boy is but the diminutive of Man. Responsibility falls too soon on the young shoulders, and crushes the elasticity of youth out of childish hearts.

The school system is such a strain on the vital energies of youths that their physical health would be permanently deteriorated did not the year of military service come in like the Jubilee, to give the exhausted frame rest and time for recovery by emancipating it for a twelvemonth from the exactions of the brain.

There is one point—and, I believe, only one—in which our public schools stand unrivalled in the results they achieve. The best class and school-room in them—the only one which produces really excellent results—is the playground. There the jostling together of boys' minds, passions, bodies, disciplines the future man, and there the boy acquires that practical common-sense, that clear preception of the bearings of a case, which distinguishes him from a French or German boy. I have heard the remark made by foreigners experienced in English as well as foreign education, that no boys are like English boys for facility in forming a healthy judgment. German schools have no playground, German boys no games. They are separated from one another by nine inches on their forms in school, and are wider apart when they leave the school-room. They never obtain a practical knowledge of life. They grow up to live in worlds of their own creation, in ideas and theories which are not brought to the test of practical experience. It is the "faculty" of common sense, which is cultivated with distinguished success in our playgrounds, which redeems the English schools from the sentence of utter badness which they would otherwise deserve. And it is the absence of this "faculty" in the German prospectus which vitiates so much of the excellent teaching imparted. Better give the pupils a good playground, and confine them daily for three hours within its barriers, than seat them for the same time before a black-board to study the theory of Political Economy.

A century hence, when the English middle classes shall see the injustice done them in being made to pay ninepence in the pound for the education of poor children to supplant in the race of life their own sons incompetently educated, it is to be hoped they will adopt the German system without its blemishes.

We have endowed schools, but they are under no supervision. They may be good one day and bad the next; they are given their character by the ruling head-master for the time. Perhaps the most striking feature in the present condition of endowed grammar-schools is the entire want of organization among them. Each school is independent of all others, and indeed of everybody and everything save the statutes by which it is governed. There is no subordination of one school to another, no classification, no arrangement of work among them. They each give the sort of education that it pleased the founder three hundred years ago to appoint, or that suits the idiosyncracies of the present master, without any regard to the wants of the present population and the demands of modern culture. They teach Latin and Greek almost exclusively, and teach it in a manner supposed to be best suited to qualify for the universities. Yet the proportion of scholars at grammar-schools who desire to be prepared for the universities is exceedingly small. Rich endowments are wasted in providing an education not meeting modern demands. The boys, an immense majority of the whole number, are compelled to begin a course of classical learning that cannot possibly be finished during their school career, and will be of no earthly use to them in their future business, simply because the master wishes it to be said that he has sent a dozen boys to the universities during his mastership.

What a vast amount of money is wasted or misused which, if in the hands of the State, might be utilised for education to answer the exigencies of modern times! It is not, indeed, to be expected that the Government in our island should confiscate these abused endowments, sweep all the receipts into a common educational fund, and grapple with the education of the country in a comprehensive and vigorous manner. Bold measures are not popular in England; abuses are like cats, they have nine lives. There is now provision made, in a cumbrous and expensive fashion, it is true, for the proper education of the lower classes. The State does secure that their children shall be given a sound elementary education, and by properly certificated teachers. But the same provision should in justice be made for the middle class. Mr. Squeers was not killed by Nicholas Nickleby. There are a legion of Do-the boys' Halls much nearer St. Paul's than Yorkshire, where, if the pupils be not exposed to the physical want endured by the Squeers' scholars, the intellectual starvation is as acute. And education for the upper classes should not be allowed to be as costly as it is at richly endowed colleges like Eton.

The well-being of a people depends to a great extent on its culture. The culture of a nation should be a matter, therefore, of chief interest to its Government. Good bread is necessary for the body, and good education is not less necessary for the mind. Some years ago Englishmen were forced to feed on home-grown corn, often spoiled. The monopoly of the farmer was broken through in the interest of the consumer; and bread, wholesome and cheap, was made procurable by all. At present good education is extravagantly costly, and bad education is not cheap. Melted, mouldy dough that would not bake served as bread in bad harvest years before the repeal of the Corn Laws. Alas! there is a bad educational harvest every year, and thousands (over 200,000 boys) are mentally munching melted mouldy dough of knowledge every year.

It is high time that this wrong should be recognized as intolerable to our humanity, and be redressed, and that all classes alike should be provided by the State with education, cheap, substantial, and nutritious.

Let us now very shortly survey the Universities, to which the boys destined to follow a learned profession pass when they leave school.

There are now in Germany twenty-one universities; if we include Braunsberg, a Catholic theological and philosophical establishment, twenty-two.

As in the German universities there are no colleges—except for those destined for holy orders—the students lodge in the towns; the price of lodgings of course varies greatly. In Berlin a student can obtain a room for from 25 to 30 marks a month: attendance costs 3 marks; morning coffee from 6 to 7 marks. 50 Pf.; firing daily from 20 to 30 Pfennige. A student can get room, attendance, breakfast and firing for the winter term (end of October to March 1) for about 210 marks, or 10 guineas; for the summer term (end of April to August 1), for about 150 marks, or 7*l.* 10*s.*

A student can dine at any hotel or restaurant for from 15 to 30 marks per month. The matriculation fee is 18 marks; but

Universities.	Teachers in Half Year of 1880.						Scholars in Half Year of 1880.							
	No. of Professors.	No. of Extraordinary Professors.	No. of Honorary Professors.	No. of Private Docents.	No. of Teachers of Languages.	Total.	Divinity Students.		No. of Students in Law, &c.	No. of Students in Medicine.	No. of Students in Philosophy, Philology, and Mathematics.	No. of Audience matriculated.	No. of other Attendants at Lectures.	Total.
							Cath.	Prot.						
Berlin	65	65	4	79	6	219	—	197	1,315	475	1,621	3,608	1,593	5,201
Bonn	56	37	1	20	4	118	75	56	231	132	457	951	36	987
Braunsberg	8	1	—	1	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Breslau	51	22	2	26	7	108	58	78	356	209	608	1,309	15	1,324
Erlangen	33	12	1	13	4	63	—	198	52	138	93	481	—	481
Freiburg	35	10	—	7	4	56	43	—	81	185	83	392	67	459
Giessen	36	12	1	5	4	58	—	25	107	73	148	353	8	361
Göttingen	57	24	1	31	5	116	—	125	183	146	511	965	9	974
Greifswald	37	11	—	11	3	62	—	53	68	248	162	531	5	536
Halle	47	21	—	26	8	102	—	270	103	144	581	1,098	32	1,130
Heidelberg	43	25	3	24	12	107	—	21	181	105	195	502	30	532
Jena	30	25	9	8	5	77	—	74	81	81	215	451	30	481
Kiel	30	9	—	15	5	59	—	44	27	75	96	242	105	347
Königsberg	43	19	—	19	4	85	—	66	177	122	372	737	8	745
Leipzig	60	46	7	50	3	166	—	423	1,057	423	1,324	3,227	118	3,345
Marburg	44	8	—	16	3	71	—	62	77	141	272	552	16	568
Munich	72	11	9	36	4	132	92	—	642	562	510	1,806	34	1,840
Münster	19	6	—	5	2	32	81	—	—	—	164	245	8	253
Rostock	31	3	—	5	2	41	—	55	30	37	76	198	—	198
Strassburg	49	14	1	19	3	86	—	58	208	149	337	752	62	814
Tübingen	49	11	1	16	6	83	150	231	301	145	167	994	10	1,004
Würzburg	41	5	—	22	2	70	120	—	103	419	206	848	59	907

for a student from another university 9 marks. On leaving the university he pays 14 marks for his testimonial.

Of lectures given by the professors, there are two sorts, the "Publicum" and the "Privatum." To the public lecture all persons are admitted; and it is either gratis, or an honorarium of sixpence in English money is paid. The Privatum is delivered to the students in one special subject, and is more special in its interest. The honorarium paid for these private lectures—four hours per week throughout the term—is from 14 to 20 marks. At Heidelberg, the usual honorarium for one hour per week during term in the legal and philosophical faculties is 3½ marks. At Jena for four hours per week, 12 marks; but a medical course costs from 18 to 21 marks. Attendance at the necessary lectures for a year at Kiel comes to about 540 marks, or 27*l.*

Every professor is supposed to give four to six hours a week of private lectures, and from two to three hours of public lectures. In the medical faculty the lectures are from ten to twelve hours a week; professors of exegesis give six hours. Some professors give also the "Privatissimum," *i.e.* lecture in private, in their houses, to their pupils. This is nearly always gratis. University professors are most jealous of their comrades making money by their knowledge, and selling their science. Consequently few venture to brave the general feeling and charge for private "coaching." Those who do so, escape condemnation by extracting fees from English and American students, who are regarded as fair game.

In addition to the professors of the University are the Privat-Docenten. A student who has finished his course may desire to devote himself to university life, and become a member of the teaching body. He accordingly sends in a book he may have published, or an essay he has written, to the Dean, and with it names three subjects on which he is prepared to lecture. The Dean, thereupon, appoints a day and hour, and subject, and summons the faculty. The candidate then delivers his lecture before the collected professors, and is questioned by them. If he proves his knowledge of his subject, he is given his *venia docendi*, after which he may deliver lectures. If he is successful, during two years, in attracting pupils, he is appointed extraordinary professor, and receives a stipend. He then waits till he receives a call as professor to an university. He may not solicit a vacant professorship, he may not take any steps to secure votes; but must await his call as a special providence. Should he write to the Dean, or any of the professors, on a vacancy occurring, he is pretty certain of rejection; so also if he solicits the recommendation of the Minister of Public Instruction. If by the end of two years the Privat-Docent has not been able to collect an audience, he is pronounced a failure, and withdraws from the university to adopt professional practice.

The German universities confer but one degree, that of Doctor. The candidate desirous of obtaining a degree sends in a thesis to the Dean of the Faculty, who submits it to the other members, and if they approve, the candidate is summoned to examination. This used to take place in the house of the Dean; it does so still in some faculties, and in the smaller universities; and the professors invited by the Dean put the candidate through his facings, whilst they partook of wine or beer, smoked, and ate breakfast or supper, for which the candidate paid by putting a sum of money into the hand of the Dean's wife. Now in the large universities the examination takes place in the schools, unrelieved by pipes and beer. The result is, that there is some difficulty in collecting the professors for it: the new method may be more formal, but it is less pleasant. Some of the universities—Jena and Giessen were the chief offenders—were wont to give degrees on very easy terms. It was enough to send in a thesis, which may or may not have been written by the candidate. The fee for the degree was what was considered, not the merit of the postulant. Professor Mommsen called the attention of the Prussian Government to university abuses of this kind, and every faculty in the German universities was required to submit its rules to a Government Commission. Such abuses do not now exist. They cannot. Government exacts an examination of every man who passes through the university before he be admitted into one of the learned professions, conducted, not by the university, but by the Government Commissioners. If one who had received his Doctor's diploma from the faculty were to be plucked by the Government examiners, the scandal would attract general observation, and the faculty bring down on itself universal ridicule.

Students may pass at will from one university to another. A friend of mine began his academic career at Würzburg, continued it at Heidelburg, and concluded it at Bonn. They may, or may not, attend lectures: nothing is compulsory. But the Government insists on all candidates for the ministry of the Church (Catholic and Protestant alike), and for law and medicine, passing three years in a German university, and at the end of that period undergoing examination by Government Commissioners. The university is in Germany, not the testing, but the teaching body. It instructs, Government examines.

The German universities are almost destitute of colleges. Before the Reformation it was not so. There were many founded for the reception of poor scholars. At Tübingen, for instance, Plantsch endowed a little college for eighteen students out of his income, just before the storm burst over the university. Almost all such endowments have been swallowed up by the princes. But in Berlin is the Melanchthonium for divinity students, and the Johanneum, also for candidates for the ministry, where they are lodged for from three to six marks a month. At Breslau is the Episcopal Seminary for Catholic students, and the Johanneum for candidates for the Protestant ministry. At Leipzig is one college for 280 students, who are lodged and given breakfast and supper free of expense. In Freiburg was a college for those studying for orders, but the town has seized on the building and turned out of it the superior and the students.

In the German universities the students wear no academical dress, and are not subjected to any oversight. They may go out of their lodgings and come in at any time of the night or day. They may go anywhere without the risk of being caught by proctors. They have neither chapels to keep, nor rations to consume. They are absolutely their own masters, and under no sort of supervision and restraint. I do not believe, from my own observation, that they abuse their liberty, and that the restrictions to which youths are subjected in the old English universities have any superior moral advantage. That our college system has other advantages I fully admit. In them men of all classes are more thrown into association with one another than in the German university by their collegiate life. In Germany the only bond is that of the Corps, Burschenschaft, or Verbindung, to which they belong. In the whole course of the term or academical career, the members of one club probably never even hear the names of, much less speak to those of another club. Thus, the university career has not as great a civilising influence on the manners as it might. A youth leaves the university as uncouth and unmannerly as he entered it. In the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, where men of all classes rub together, the "cad" necessarily sloughs off much of his old rudeness, and acquires unconsciously a refinement of manner foreign to the parental backshop. And the man of birth finds that among the middle-class fellow-collegians are men of great ability, excellence, and perseverance, and he contracts maybe with one such a lasting friendship, which continues through life, when the one is at the hall and the other in the parsonage. At all events, everything like class prejudice is broken down by the English system, and intensified by the German system.[1]

The mingling and friction of men in a college rub down self-conceit, and many a bumptious boy, when he comes to an English university, drops before his freshman's year is out to a sober estimate of himself. The German system, on the other hand, accentuates priggishness. The duelling, which is so prevalent in the German universities, is one consequence of this. Each student comes up with an overweening idea of himself; if he were forced to live with other men, sit with them in hall, and by them at the college lecture, or in the chapel, row in the same boat with them, scout for them at cricket, or speak with them in the same debating-club, he would learn to give and take. But nesting alone in his lodging, associating only with a few, he becomes suspicious of offence, ready to take umbrage at a trifle, and obliged by the regulations of his corps to fight whenever he harbours an impression that he has been treated with disrespect. A curious habit is for each *Verbindung* to consider it a matter of etiquette to fight a certain number of duels in the year, and all sorts of frivolous reasons are sought to make up the requisite number of duels, without which the club would lose its character. A student is proud of his slashed cheeks and slit nose: the scars prove him a gentleman, *i.e.* a man apt to take offence. Of the dignity of self-respect, the courtesy of a gentleman, he has less opinion. Swagger, bluster, and bombast are the badges of gentility with him. I asked a friend one day what was the distinguishing feature of the "Adel" in Germany. "The young Adel," was the answer given me, "are ready to fling away their lives as dirt, if but rudely nudged, and no apology offered."

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[1] For a good account of the Burschenschaften or University Societies of young men, see Mayhew's "German Life and Manners in Saxony," chap. xxi., "Student Life at Jena."

And this is the only conception the bürger student has of nobility, and in his striving to be a gentleman, he apes the readiness to take offence in the unapproachable class above him in rank, and below him in fortune. Education is not merely the sharpening of the intellect, and the loading of the memory, but it is the polish of the mind also. And the mind is polished by association with women of all classes, and with men above and below in social standing. I have already spoken of the great misfortune to German men, that they mix so little with ladies. Boys do not play with their sisters, young men do not make them their confidants and friends. Consequently, they grow up without that reverence for womanhood which is so characteristic of young English gentlemen. It is precisely at the period of adolescence that prejudices are fixed for life or filed off; and thus it becomes all-important for young men to mix with those of other classes in the social scale, that they may know the special merits of each, and learn to esteem each for its merits. This is what our English university system affords, and the German university does not afford. Gentlemanliness is not readiness to take umbrage, but consideration for the feelings of others. And for acquiring this, the German university is no school.

German university education produces another result, advantageous in one respect, the reverse in another, good or bad according to the view taken of education.

If academic training be designed to focus the mental eye on one portion of the field of science, and on one point in that portion, then the German method is perfect.

The student's attention is withdrawn from all distracting interests, and is concentrated on its special subject, and on the particular subdivision of his subject, which is to be the object of his life's study. It has been said, and said with truth, that school-work in Germany makes boys short-sighted. University study makes men mentally short-sighted. They are educated to look at nothing but what is immediately under their noses. When I was a boy, it was a favourite trick of mine to mesmerise cocks, by placing them on a black-board, and drawing a line of chalk from the beak to the extreme edge of the board. The fowl then lay entranced for a considerable length of time, gazing with riveted attention at the chalk line. This is precisely the system of the German universities; the students are given each his chalk line, along which alone he may look, and in the absorbed contemplation of which he is to be lost all his life.

The German method leads to magnificent results, it must be admitted, for those trained under it become masters of their special subjects, unapproachable by those brought up under a more liberal discipline. As long as it is pursued, German men of science and learning will distance all competitors. In natural science, in philosophy, in philology and every other branch of learning they will particularise a twig on the tree of knowledge, one leaflet on the twig, digest it, and then drop off content. When Lord Dufferin went to Iceland, he found there a professor from Fatherland hunting moths. He was not in pursuit of moths generally—that subject was too wide—but of one sub-order of moths, and to discover the variations in this sub-order he was ranging round the world. We have an analogous system in one of our universities,—Cambridge. There the student of mathematics has his interests detached from the *litteræ humaniores* and concentrated on calculations. The wrangler is sent out into society without one point of sympathy with it, into the world of men, to look on them as units in a great sum subject to permutations and combinations, to be contemplated and calculated from a statistical point of view.

He is dismissed from his university into the crowd of beating hearts and eager interests, labouring with a calculus in his brain.

Herr Lasker, in an article on the German universities in the "Rundschau," complains that the educational system there is productive of one-sidedness, of narrowness, not of breadth. No general view of history, or natural science, or jurisprudence, is set before the students, but they are tied down to one petty point in each, and in the mastery of this, all idea of the relation it bears to other points and truths is lost. "The university," he says, "splinters itself into special schools. Each special subject is broken into minute particulars. The student becomes a scholar, and after the legal course is over, he comes to an understanding with the teacher along with his fellow-workers in the same subject to follow a mean programme. He who has not made natural science his special department leaves the university without an idea of the weighty discoveries of natural philosophers. He who has gone through his course in medicine, gets no general survey of the many branches of study necessary for his calling: he has explored but one, and all subjects beyond his professional range are absolutely closed to him. The law-student knows nothing of the structure of the human body; the surgeon nothing of the elementary groundwork of law and justice; the first principles of social economy, literature, ethnology, history, and all those matters which every educated man ought to know something about, if he is to mix in society, are to a terrible degree strange to those studying in special departments. The lecture-rooms lie side by side, the many schools are under one roof, the professors belong to one senate, the whole society is tied together by statutes nd external organisation, but the spiritual link is missing; personal avocations insulate, particular studies separate the students; and the university is nothing more than a congeries of schools for specialists."

It was precisely because the theological training tended to narrow the minds of candidates for orders, that the Imperial Government has insisted on all theological students qualifying as well in three other subjects, such as literature, history, geography, mathematics, jurisprudence, natural philosophy, etc. No such requirement is made of candidates for law and medicine, and they will issue from the university more narrowed than the divinity students by their training. It is a consciousness of this, no doubt, which has made the Government of Germany insist on examining the students of the universities by commissioners of its own appointment, and on making the training of the Lyceum and Bürgerschule so general and excellent. This preliminary education is, as I have shown, on a broad basis. The contraction of the basis begins at once and abruptly in the university. After striving to stretch little minds to cover acres, they tie them down on a needle-point. But the teaching of the schools ought to be followed up at the university, not set aside.

A German professor, to whom I was one day speaking on various subjects, interrupted me with the exclamation, "You Englishmen puzzle me beyond measure. You know a little of so many things, and are so full of interest in every department of literature, science, and art! Believe me, there must be no universality of knowledge and interest if a man is to be master of a subject." He was right, but then life is much more pleasant to a man who has a nerve everywhere in sympathy with all that surrounds him. It is, I doubt not, the necessity of working for a livelihood which specialises German studies. The majority of men who go to the university go there to learn what will gain them their bread, not to become culsivated members of society. "Bread and-butter students" these are termed, and all professors lament that their necessity should interfere with their general culture. The question seems to me to resolve itself into this—sooner or later a man, if he is to do anything in his profession, must become a specialist, but *when* is specialisation in his studies to begin? I should say, not till he leaves the university. A liberal education will always tell in the end; and I do not believe that valuable time is lost in deferring the contraction of the radius of studies till a man is twenty-three.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ARMY.

France, hast thou yet more blood to cast away?
Say, shall the current of our right roam on?
Whose passage, vex'd with thy impediment,
Shall leave his native channel, and o'erswell
With course disturb'd even thy confining shores,
Unless thou let his silver water keep
A peaceful progress to the ocean.

King John, act ii. sc. 2.

"EVERY German is subject to military duty, and cannot perform it by proxy." The Reichsverfassung places this statement at the head of the Articles on military affairs. In it is declared the personal obligation of every man in the country to bear arms for the defence of Fatherland.[1]

This principle of universal military service is no special feature of German organisation, but what is peculiar to Germany is the way in which it is carried out.

For understanding this, it is necessary to lay down a few plain truths which have been grasped by the Germans and missed by others. And it is to the recognition of these elementary truths, which lie at the root of the German organisation, that the Empire owes the possession of the most magnificent army the world has ever seen and is ever likely to see. Other nations may copy, but they cannot surpass a military system which in its main features is absolutely perfect.

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[1] It is, however, broken by Art. 1 of the Kriegsdienst-Gesetz of Nov. 9, 1867, which exempts :—

1. Members of the reigning houses in the Empire.
2. " mediatised princely houses.
3. Natives of Elsass and Lothringen born before Jan. 1, 1851.

The object of an army is to execute by physical force the will of the general in command.

The army is the implement with which this will is executed: therefore, for the carrying out of the object, the greater the physical force employed, the more certain the general is of attaining his purpose.

But the physical force of an army is composed of *two* factors: *first*, the numerical strength of the force under command; *secondly*, the special perfection of each member constituting this force.

The first factor is raised to its highest power when every available man has been called to arms; the second, when every soldier has received the most complete education required for a military vocation. For this purpose the greatest possible amount of time must be devoted to military education.

But the State has to consider not merely the efficiency of its army, but also the commercial prosperity of the country. Consequently, all men cannot be taken from peaceful avocations for an indefinite length of time. It must cut its coat, *bon gré mal gré*, according to its cloth.

It is the interest of the State to have a strong force at its disposal, but it is a greater interest of the State to have this with the least possible distraction of the energies of the country from agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

Out of the balance of these two interests issues the measure of the strength of the military power of a country.

If, however, military power be the product of numbers and of military capability, it is clear that two opposed forces may exactly equalise or neutralise each other, when the factors differ. That is, a smaller number of men with greater capacities may equal a greater number with smaller capacities.

From this consideration arise two military systems.

One system raises the factor of the strength of the troops to the highest possible term, by drawing all into the army capable of bearing arms, but in consequence is obliged to reduce the second factor to its minimum. This is the *Militia system.* Its inherent weakness lies in this fact, that when one factor = 0, it may be multiplied to any amount without obtaining a product.

Another system rests its supreme weight on the military capabilities of the men, and their length of service; consequently the number under arms has to be reduced to a minimum. This is the *recruiting system.* It also has its inherent defects. If once the small army of picked men be annihilated, there are no successive levies of reserves trained to take its place. Great competence is succeeded by utter incompetence. And, again, it is by no means satisfactorily shown that a soldier of twenty years' standing in the ranks is better than one who has been under training for five years. With the officer it is different. But with the private, I believe, it is not so. If I am not very much mistaken, I think it will be found that a German private retiring into the reserve is in every point as thorough a soldier as an English private of many years' standing; in several particulars his superior, for the English training is not to be compared with that of the German soldier. As for physical strength and endurance, and moral courage, one is as good a man as the other. How we suffered for want of a reserve in the Crimean war is in all men's memories. We sent out boys, and they died like flies. We are better off now, or we should be nowhere in the military race.

The German system is an endeavour to hold a medium between the Militia and the recruiting systems. It endeavours to unite the advantages of both, by raising both factors to their highest possible power.

Every man capable of bearing arms is given a thorough-going military education, so that every able-bodied man in the Empire is capable of responding to the call of the Emperor, and he can send rank after rank, host after host, of disciplined men into the field, till he has exhausted all the manhood in the country.

To effect this, the conscripts must not be kept longer under colours than is absolutely necessary for their military education, and when this is completed, must be sent back to their peaceful avocations, only to be called up again so often as to ensure their not forgetting what they have learned. By this means the least strain is put on the country, and the greatest military force is obtained. But, again, military capacity is the result of two factors: mechanical drill, and educated intelligence. It follows, therefore, that without affecting the product, the first factor may be diminished, and the second increased. Consequently, a less amount of drill, that is, only just sufficient to qualify him for his duties, is sufficient for a man of education. In intellectual development and general intelligence, the latter makes up what the clown has to work out by means of drill. Let 10 be the total, x the drill, and y education; then $8x + 2y = 10$, and so will $3x + 7y = 10$. On this is based the system of Einjährigers.[1]

From these general observations we may pass to the description of the norms through which the doctrine just laid down is applied.

The duty to bear arms applies, of course, only to those capable of doing so, physically and mentally, and to those who are morally qualified to stand in the ranks and fight for Fatherland.

The conscripts who are unable to serve under arms are sent to workshops, hospitals, or offices attached to a corps. Imprisonment for felony or any serious crime incapacitates a man from serving his country.

Every German—if not in the navy—belongs to the active army for *seven* years; as a rule, from the age of twenty to the beginning of the twenty-eighth year.[2] During the first *three* years he belongs to the standing army; during the last *four* to the reserve; during the next *five* to the Landwehr; and to the Landsturm till forty-two.

The entire nautical population is free from military service, but is required for the navy. As nautical population are reckoned all those who on entering their twentieth year have served for one year at least either in a German trading or fishing vessel, or have been stokers, or served on steamboats in any capacity.

The length of service in the navy, reserve, and Seewehr is the same as in the army.

The armament of the German Empire consists of—

1. **The Army**
   - under colours
     - standing.
     - reserve.
   - the Landwehr.
2. **The Navy**
   - the fleet
     - standing.
     - reserve.
   - the Seewehr.
3. The Landsturm.

The standing army and fleet are always on a war footing: they are the schools educating the nation for war. The Land- and Seewehr are the feeders of the standing army and navy. The Landsturm only flies to arms when a portion of the realm is threatened with invasion. The standing army in time of peace was limited till 1881 to 401,659 men, a number it might not exceed; the Freiwilligers not included. But in April 1880, Prince Bismarck carried a measure increasing the German army, till March 31, 1888, to 18,128 officers and 427,274 men, exclusive of volunteers. Moreover, those who have served their time are not henceforth to receive their discharge in the autumn, but in the ensuing March, which raises the standing army in winter by about 100,000 men.[1] This number is a maximum. On no day in the year may it exceed this. It is the normal number for which the Reichstag votes supplies.

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[1] To be described presently.

[2] In Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hanover, from the 21st to the 29th year.

The army consists of—1. Infantry; 2. Cavalry; 3. Field Artillery; 4. Siege Artillery; 5. Pioneers; 6. Train. There are other formations, as schools for under-officers, a railway battalion, telegraph corps, riding institutes, etc.

For tactical unity, in the infantry the battalion is the unit, in the cavalry the squadron, in the field artillery the battery.

In the infantry, jägers and sharpshooters, a battalion consists of 1000 men. In the cavalry, a regiment is composed of 750 men. In the siege and field artillery there are 150 men to a company; in the train a battalion consists of 1000 men, in the pioneers of 600 men.

The infantry consists of 503 battalions, the cavalry of 465 squadrons, the field artillery of 340 batteries, the siege artillery of 31 battalions, the pioneers of 19 battalions, the train of 19½ battalions.

The infantry	consists of	523,744	men.
„ cavalry	„	61,000	„
„ artillery	„	94,000	„
„ pioneers	„	17,300	„
„ train	„	42,632	„
For special employment		6,926	„
		745,602	

To these must be added 17,621 officers—the requisite number is not yet supplied.

As a rule, three battalions of the infantry, five squadrons of cavalry, and two or three artillery divisions form a regiment. Every two or three regiments form a brigade. Every two or three brigades form a division. Generally two brigades of infantry and one of cavalry form a division.[1]

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[1] In the summer of 1880, the exact number of reserve and Landwehr called out was 110,165 men.

There is no fixed rule as to the number and distribution of officers; but usually each company, squadron, and battery, has a captain, a first lieutenant, two or three second lieutenants, and the "requisite" number of under-officers.

At the head of every battalion and artillery division is a staff officer; at the head of every regiment a superior staff officer. A brigade is, as a rule, commanded by a major-general, a division by a lieutenant-general, and an army corps by a general.

Besides the divisional formation of the army, it has also a territorial division. This military division forms the basis of the organisation of the Landwehr and the supply. The Empire is divided into seventeen army-corps districts, over which the generals in command exercise chief territorial jurisdiction in all military matters.

The army-corps districts fall into divisional and brigade sub-districts; the latter again, according to extent and population, into Landwehr, company, and battalion districts.

The army articulation corresponds with the territorial division, from which it is recruited and supplied. Thus each army corps, each division, and each infantry brigade, has its own district, from which, as a rule, its men are drawn, and it is completed on mobilisation. Consequently the young men of a village find themselves together in the drill-ground and in barrack—a provision of the highest moral advantage. The young trooper who misconducts himself does so in the presence of his companions from childhood, and he knows that the report of him will reach his home. On the battle-field he is not among strangers, and if shot, a comrade will bear his last words to his native village, to his mother and his Schatz.

Over all the land, officers are stationed forming military boards —the Divizion-Commando, the Brigade-Commando, and the Landwehr-Commando. In time of peace the divisional commander has the oversight in his district, also care for the discipline and knowledge of the whereabouts of the men on furlough. He is charged with the supervision of the Landwehr, and with all preparations for mobilisation on a moment's notice.

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[1] **Only in the Body-Guard and Royal Saxon Corps are there entire cavalry divisions.**

The Landwehrbezirks-Commando has the following duties :—

1. The control of those on furlough in that district.

2. The preparation of all needed for mobilisation, and the formation of the Landwehr battalion.

3. The care of the clothing and arming of the Landwehr battalion, and the supply of ammunition.

4. Provision for recruiting, and for invalids.

In time of war, the field army is engaged in active operations against the enemy, and the reserve garrisons the fortresses and keeps the lines of communication, and as they are drawn upon to fill the gaps made by war in the ranks of the field army, their places are supplied from the Landwehr.

With this outline of the army organisation in his head, the reader will be able to follow me into particulars. Unless he be a military man, he may be disposed to say with Faust, "Ich bin des trocknen Tons nun satt;" but I hope that the details will prove more interesting than the outline. I would not advise him to omit to follow me, if he would acquire a just idea of that most remarkable creation of the Prussian spirit of organisation and discipline—the German army. It is to Fatherland what the Pyramids are to Egypt, Paris to France, and the Metropolitan Railway to England,—a typical creation of the national genius.

Let us begin with the recruit, and go through the course with him. Every year, in the month of February, a circular is issued by the War Ministry indicating :—

1. The number of recruits required for each infantry battalion and each cavalry regiment.

2. The number of assistants and workmen required for each corps.

3. The days on which each corps is to receive its recruits.

In every district lists are kept of the men in it and their ages; and every young man of twenty has to present himself before the local Board. There is an excellent little book to be had for a few pence,[1] which puts in a simple form before the recruits their duties and what the law requires of them. Every man is *Wehrpflichtig*, i.e. bound to serve, yet all are not required to serve.

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[1] **Wurzer:** ***Katechismus für die deutschen Militärpflichten.*** **Leipz. 1878.**

The standing army is legally fixed in number, at a percentage of the population. It is not therefore every man who is called to arms. When more recruits present themselves than are required, lot decides which are to enter military service.

But certain are exempt; such as young men who are the sole support of aged parents, or helpless brothers and sisters; the only sons of landed proprietors, tradesmen, etc., incapacitated by age or illness from managing their estates or shop.

A special arrangement is made with those destined for a learned profession, which shall be noticed presently. Deformity, excessive physical infirmity, short sight, a height under 1^{m}60 (5ft. 7⅓in.), etc., incapacitate a man from serving.

The recruits are allowed to express their wishes as to the sort of service they desire to enter, infantry, cavalry, chasseurs, artillery, etc., and their wishes are considered as far as is possible. When the number has been made up, the commandants of the different regiments determine by lot which are to serve in their respective contingents. There are, however, a few exceptions made to this impartial distribution. Men of and over 1^{m}82 may be sent to the first regiment of the Guards. The chasseur (*Jäger*) and sharpshooter regiments are recruited almost exclusively from the agents of the Government and mediatised princes in the service of the forests. This recruiting is under the special direction of the inspector of the chasseurs and sharpshooters. The chasseurs are no favourites in the German army. It is thought by the officers that all the privates should receive a like training in rifle practice. But the governments favour these regiments, whence they draw their servants for the charge of their forests. The organisation is altogether peculiar: it forms an hereditary class of foresters, who furnish the army with professional sharpshooters, and this corps of rangers in turn supplies the State with men devoted to its interests in the forests.

The distribution of recruits is made without regard to their social positions. Well-dressed sons of citizens, peasant lads, and even ragged youths jostle each other. But there are not many members of the upper classes found in the crowd; for these young men, having received a superior education, are allowed to enter the army as volunteers, or are in the military colleges, with the intention of making the army their profession.

As the men come to their regiment, they are submitted to medical inspection. Those deemed unfit for service are sent back to their districts, and the Landwehr officers therein are bound within a stated period to supply their places with fresh recruits. The sifting out and replacing of the unsuitable occupies about a fortnight. A month after the reception of the recruits, a report on the appearance, physical condition, size, etc., of the men is sent in from all the regiments to the Staff; and their reports are forwarded to the Emperor.

The commandant of each regiment distributes the recruits in their battalions on the day of their arrival. The tallest men go into the first battalions, the smaller among the fusileers. With us the reverse takes place. They are then subjected to a second medical inspection. The first was solely to ascertain if they were physically sound, the second to ensure that they are not labouring under any contagious disease. Then they are all bathed and clad in uniform. Each man makes up a parcel of his ordinary clothes and sends them home at the end of a month, when it is definitely decided that he remains in the regiment. The rest of the first day is spent in installing the recruits in their chambers. Their money is taken from them, and placed with the commandant, but each man is allowed to keep two thalers, or six shillings. The object is to prevent inexperienced youths being led to squander their little funds at the instigation of older soldiers, naturally disposed to regale themselves at the expense of their new comrades. The recruits are next given out combs, brushes, a looking-glass, razors, etc., for which they have to pay a moderate price, or it is deducted from their wage. Then their hair is cut, and they are vaccinated. In the first month they all take the oath to the colours.

Each company receives annually from forty to fifty recruits. Each dormitory is under the supervision of a non-commissioned officer, appointed to be instructor to the recruits by the commandant of the company. The recruits are also generally broken into groups of two or three under an older soldier, who is supposed to act towards them the part of an elder brother. This plan has been found very advantageous for developing feelings of mutual friendship and comradeship; linking together into one all the members of the great military family. A few days after his incorporation in the regiment, each recruit is required to draw up a short biography of himself, as frank and complete as possible. This he submits to his captain, who thereby is made acquainted with the antecedents of his men, and is able to judge of their intelligence and the degree of their education. Those who cannot write give their account *vivâ voce.* But the number of illiterate is very small.

What has been said of recruiting for the infantry applies equally to the cavalry, with only slight differences, on which we need not tarry. Cavalry and infantry alike have attached to them a body of workmen of two sorts: the one "Oekonomie-Handwerker," are not reckoned as in the ranks, and do no military service; the others, among them saddlers, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, etc., form part of the effective fighting body.

Besides the men sent from the contingent, the cavalry regiments receive volunteers for one or four years. The first are few on account of the cost; they have to find their own horses, accoutrements, keep, etc. The volunteers of four years are, on the contrary, very numerous. In consideration of the extra year for which they volunteer, they are let off two years in the Landwehr. These volunteers are received much more cordially than the recruits from the ordinary contingent; because the cavalry officers are well aware that three years is not long enough for the training of an effective horse-soldier. Consequently captains do their utmost to draw as many volunteers as they can to their squadrons, and thereby reduce the number of ordinary recruits. From thirty-five to forty-five men annually enter each squadron. For regiments of the Guard, Cuirassiers, and Uhlans, the minimum height is 1^{m} 67: for the light cavalry, dragoons, and hussars, 1^{m} 62.

In the recruiting of the German army the commandant of the regiment is the axle of the system. He knows the effective force his corps must have on a peace and on a war footing, and he is bound to be always ready to have under control the number of men required. When necessary he must apply to the Staff of his *corps-d'armée* for the number of recruits he requires; he must winnow out the unserviceable men and call for others to replace them, or fill their places with volunteers. This is only possible with recruital which is territorial, by which system each corps has at hand a store from which to draw at will, and which is being incessantly supplied; so that there is always ready at a moment's notice all the material in men and equipment for completing the corps and giving it its full effective force in times of war and peace.

In most European armies, when the annual period for the commencement of instruction comes round, there appear whole shoals of general orders and directions, often contradictory, minutely regulating the kind and duration of the different exercises, not during the month only, but even by day and hour. Nothing of this sort exists in the German army. To the commandant of the company is left the entire responsibility for the instruction of his men, in what mode and at what hour he sees fit. His initiative has no other limits than the obligation imposed on him of presenting his soldiers ready for inspection to his superior officers at fixed times, and to have them trained to a certain standard by those times. The commandant of the battalion has no right to interfere with the instruction of the companies that compose his battalion. All he is at liberty to do is to note to their captains such deficiencies or irregularities as attract his eye. He has no power to alter the course fixed by a commander of a company. Later, he, in his turn, instructs his battalion, and becomes wholly responsible for its instruction as a tactical unity. All he can exact is, that the companies, when they pass under his hand shall prove thoroughly instructed in all rudimentary branches of drill and discipline.

A like freedom is accorded to every officer charged with every branch whatsoever of instruction. All German officers, from the lieutenant to the general, are unanimous in regarding this liberty as an essential and indispensable condition of success, not only as concerns the instruction of the troops, but also in all that affects military success. For it produces emulation among the officers of every grade, it draws out their powers and teaches them promptness and observation. Moreover, it is the best possible means of teaching an officer the details of the service. He learns as much as does the soldier whom he is teaching.

In the whole military hierarchy there is not an office more important than that of commandant of the company, squadron, or battery—that is, as concerns the instruction of the troops. And as a capable officer is put in that post, he is given plenty of elbow-room. Not only does he instruct the men of his squadron, but, by the position he occupies, he alone is in a position to form among the officers of his company a successor capable of replacing himself. If this initiative freedom accorded to each strikes a foreign observer, not less does the minutely methodical and progressive system with which the instruction is pursued, not from year's end to year's end only, but in each particular period of the year. Experience has established the rules and formulated the series of exercises appropriate to the exigencies of war, and to the character of the nation and the habits of the country. These are never interfered with. Every one knows his part and fulfils it without hesitation.

The instruction of a German regiment advances with calmness and regularity, precisely like that in a public school in which with each new year there is an influx of fresh scholars to recommence the lessons learned by their predecessors, now moved to a higher form.

The drill, to the very gymnastics, is not left to a non-commissioned officer alone. The recruits are, indeed, put through their facings, and taught to turn head over heels, and climb a pole, by a "Gefreite" or lance-corporal, but the lieutenant is present throughout the instruction. The position of a sub-lieutenant in the German army is no sinecure. He has a great deal of hard and very wearisome work, and he is kept a great part of the day at it; he has to cuff and lick the awkward squad into shape, and is himself the constant butt of reprimands from his superior officers. More of this shortly.

The year of instruction in the infantry comprehends six periods:—

1. Preparatory period:—From the end of the grand manœuvres and the dismissal of the reserve to the arrival of the recruits; that is, from the second half of September to the beginning of November in the Guards, to the beginning of December in the Line.

2. Period of individual instruction of the recruits:—Till the middle of February in the Guards, till the beginning of March in the Line.

3. Period of inspection, or Spring exercises, to the middle of May.

4. Period of service in the country, to the beginning of August.

5. Period of autumnal exercises, to the end of **August.**

6. Period of grand manœuvres, to the second half of September.

1. *Preparatory Period.*—The first thing the captain has to do is to choose and prepare the instructors to whom the recruits are to be confided, for on this depends almost exclusively the success of the instruction. And as, on account of the shortness of the duration of active service, it is difficult to have a sufficient number of experienced non-commissioned officers,[1] their preparation absorbs all the care and time of the commandant of the company during this period. In each company one lieutenant, three or four non-commissioned officers, and six or nine lance-corporals are detailed for this purpose.

The captain confides the post of instructor to the lieutenant he considers most apt for this charge. This lieutenant directs the instruction of the recruits under the immediate eye of the captain, who, however, leaves him the utmost latitude, on the same principle that runs through the whole service—the development of the individual powers by according liberty to the utmost extent possible with the maintenance of necessary system and discipline.

As a rule, the lieutenants set a high and honourable example before their pupils. Each officer-instructor is made entirely responsible for the men confided to him. He has the surveillance over them, and sees that they are not brutalised by older soldiers. He serves as a check upon the non-commissioned officers under him, and prevents them from tyrannising over the recruits. At the same time he stimulates their zeal for the service, and puts a stop to violence and vulgarity on their part. A very sincere attachment often grows up between the lieutenant and his men, and the sense of responsibility of setting them a good example has a high moral effect upon him.

In order to be able to acquit himself of his duty as instructor, the lieutenant is obliged to prepare for it diligently during the "preparatory period." The captain lends him his aid, advises him, but never personally charges himself with his instruction.

The captain chooses one or two experienced non-commissioned officers and gives them as assistants one or two younger soldiers; by this means experienced instructors are trained for the following year.

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[1] I use the term "non-commissioned officers" for those entitled in German "Unter-Officieren," *i.e.* Feldwebel and Vice-Feldwebel.

The lieutenants receive every day two hours' theoretical instruction from the commandant on the principles of manœuvres, the theory and rules of musketry, on the discipline of the service, the history of the regiment, and the outlines of military legislation. The commandant has also, during this period, to see that all the undress uniforms for the recruits are clean and in good condition, and that the dormitories are fresh whitewashed and furnished with every necessary.

During this preparatory period also the non-commissioned officers learn to conduct patrols, make little reconnaissances, and practically resolve certain tactical problems. The officers are also then engaged on their tactical studies, under the direction of the commandant of the battalion.

At the same time the pioneers are instructed in sapping.

2. *Period of Individual Instruction.*—The day of the arrival of the recruits is, undoubtedly, the most important in the year to the commandant, who is naturally jealous to maintain the reputation of his company.

The course of instruction to the recruits lasts from twelve to fourteen weeks. In those weeks the country lout has to be trained to serve in the ranks. In twelve weeks the raw recruit has to learn the regulations of fighting in scattered order, the handling of his arms, how to shoot, gymnastics, and, in a word, everything that is necessary to enable him to take his place in the ranks, go through his exercises with the company, and do all that is required of a soldier in time of peace. This constitutes "Duty State," as Germans understand it. To attain this result the commandant of the company has to exert all his energies and bring all his experience to bear to elaborate a plan and sequence of drill and study which is to be followed.

Here again occurs a feature peculiar to the German system, and altogether admirable. Extreme attention is paid to explaining to the recruit the reason for every order given. The object is, to educate the man's intelligence, to make of him not a machine only, but an intelligent machine, capable of judging and acting for himself under extraordinary circumstances. This is precisely what was wanting in the Russian soldiers in the late war. They were machines, they went where they were ordered, but they had no judgment when individual judgment was wanted. In that the

Turk was his superior. But among the Guards under Skobeleff it was otherwise. They had been taught on the German method, and the results became evident directly they appeared before Plevna.

I must again repeat, no detailed scheme of instruction is issued by authority. In all orders extant, the only requirement is that a certain specified point of training shall be reached: how that is brought about is left entirely free. Full liberty is accorded to the commandant, and his superiors absolutely refrain from any interference, and from all appearance of limiting or touching his independence.

Consequently there is great variety. In a company of recruits which I observed in 1877–78, the hours of drill were from eight to eleven A.M., and from two to four P.M., and there was one hour's instruction in military subjects in the evening. For the first fortnight or three weeks from the date of joining, the recruit was exercised *solely* in gymnastics.

Most captains arrange the course of instruction by weeks, with a programme for each, and leave the details of execution to the lieutenant. The lieutenant in turn makes verbal recommendations to the non-commissioned officers, taking care to allow them also a certain amount of freedom.

The recruits are under constant surveillance—to such an extent that, during the first six weeks of their service, no young soldier can leave the barrack without being attended by a Gefreite. This is a rule of some importance, especially in large towns, where inexperienced country youths might otherwise be easily drawn into conduct incompatible with honour and respect for their uniform.

The following is a table of a day's employment in the fourth week after a recruit has joined :—

Morning.

A.M.		A.M.	
6.0 .	Rise.	9.0 to 9.30	Exercise in pointing.
7.0 .	Breakfast.	9.30 „ 11.30	Manœuvres.
7.30 to 8.30	Theoretical instruction.	Midday .	Dinner.

Afternoon.

P.M.		P.M.	
2.0 to 3.15	Drill.	6.45 to 7.0 .	Instruction on calls (bugle).
3.15 „ 4.0	Gymnastics.	7.0 .	Supper.
4.0 „ 4.30	Pointing.	9.0 . .	Bed.
5.30 „ 6.30	Instruction on keeping arms clean, etc.		

Instruction in skirmishing begins the second week, and occupies an hour and a half every day. During the first six weeks the non-commissioned officers exercise their groups in obeying the bugle-calls, which are sounded by the lieutenant at a distance. After the seventh week, and till the tenth, this exercise is repeated only every other day. In the eleventh week, the lieutenant assembles all the recruits of the company in one detachment: each of these groups constitutes a platoon formed in two ranks. The three platoons are ranged one behind the other, and thus a little column is formed, which the lieutenant exercises as if it were a complete company. The men by this means get an idea of the relations of open order and compact order, and of the movements and formations peculiar to the latter. It is the best possible preparation for the school of field exercise, to which they pass in the thirteenth or fourteenth week after their incorporation.

After the preliminary instruction in pointing, in the fifth week the recruits are given a little gun (*kleines Gewehr*), which allows of good practice at fifty paces. But the moment when they begin at the butts with their regular weapons is not fixed. Sometimes men are in "Duty State" who have only fired ten rounds, whilst others may have fired forty.

In the evenings the men are taught by a tailor how to repair their clothes; during this instruction, or after it, they are exercised in bugle-calls by the lance-corporal.

Theoretical instruction is given by the lieutenant once a week during the first four weeks, thrice in the next four, and thrice in the last four. The rule is not absolute, and there is no regulation-book from which the teaching is given. The instruction is oral, and catechetical.

3. *Period of Spring Exercises and Inspection.*—The period of individual instruction passed, an inspection of the recruits is made by the commandant of the regiment, after which he passes them into the company school.

This inspection, which takes place about the end of February, is one of the most important days in the military life, and it usually excites the liveliest interest, not only among the officers of each regiment, but throughout the garrison, so that for some time nothing else is talked about than the results obtained by this or that captain, the merits of this or that plan of instruction, and the quality of the men about to pass. The inspection takes place with great solemnity. All the highest military officers in the garrison attend in full uniform. The men are presented to the colonel by the lieutenant of the company. The inspection is in two parts. One has to do with the manœuvres, and takes place on an appointed day. The other, which is an examination into the theoretical knowledge of the recruit, his gymnastic acquirements, etc., takes place as suits the convenience of the colonel. The review of the recruits is minute and thorough. They are put through all the evolutions: the cadence of their marching is taken by the watch.[1] The inspection of fifty recruits occupies two hours. When it is over, the colonel addresses a few words of encouragement to the young soldiers, and congratulates them, if they deserve it.

The inspection over, the recruits cease to form a class apart, they are admitted into the ranks of the company, and take part with the older soldiers in all their duties and drill. It is not that their education is supposed to be terminated, but it is supposed that they have arrived at a point at which the example of older soldiers and contact with them, along with the varied exercises of the Spring period, will complete their military education.

During the two preceding periods a great strain has been put on the older soldiers. Many have been detailed as instructors, and all the duties of guard have devolved on the rest; so that every soldier has often to be on guard once in three days. Now the companies are filled, and the turn of each man comes only once in ten or twelve days. The captain has now all his men at his disposal for company evolutions.

He proceeds at once with the reorganisation of his company. The place of each soldier is assigned him according to his height; and the whole company is divided into three platoons, formed in double rank, each of which constitutes a section commanded by a non-commissioned officer. The lance-corporals, orderlies, etc., are distributed evenly through the sections, and each is given charge of an equal number of new soldiers.

During this period the service is more varied. The Spring exercises comprehend company and battalion drill, and the evolutions of the regiment and brigade. Moreover, target-practice is now seriously undertaken. It is unnecessary to say that individual exercises, gymnastics, fencing, etc., are not given up, but they take a subordinate position.

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[1] Quick march is 112 to the minute.

Each company is divided into three distinct groups; the first composed of men of superior military aptitude, the last, of men exceptionally clumsy or stupid. The second group is the most numerous. The exercises of each group are calculated to meet its special requirements. The men in the third group have their deficiencies plainly pointed out to them, that they may make efforts to remedy their defects. Every Saturday a transfer is made from one group to another, according to progress made. But inversely, also, it may happen that a man is degraded into an inferior group, if he shows himself incapable of keeping pace with those with whom he has been associated. No regard is had to time of service, all that is looked to is the qualification of each.

During the war of 1870–71, the importance of the company as a tactical unity was made clear. Since that date the German captains have redoubled their efforts to give their companies the highest attainable suppleness and cohesion. But in this, again, there is no regulation drill; each captain is left to follow his own inspiration and experience. Company exercises are generally preceded by military promenades into the country, to accustom the men to long marches, and familiarise them with the principal rules and precautions to be observed on them. They are usually marched in columns by sections, drums and bugles at the head, but not in close rank. On the way the soldiers are given an explanation of the object and utility of such and such regulations, and every occasion is taken to show them what consequences the neglect of these precautions would entail. When the march is long, it is interrupted by halts, and the captain orders the men to pile arms, and then gives them instructions on bivouacking. The men on the first march are fully equipped with bread-pouch, can, and knapsack, the latter empty. After a few marches the saucepan is added, then the great-coat and stew-pan.

The company drill takes place on the Exercirplatz, a level space to be found in every garrison town, not within rails, but completely open to all the world, and a favourite lounge of nursery-maids. Now begin the Schulexerciren, on which German military authorities lay great stress. Their object is to bring bodies of men into the most perfect control by their officers. The men are put through all the regulation forms. But this is by no means all. The captains during the course of the Schulexerciren—the regulation exercises—order at times movements absolutely contrary to those indicated by the regulation. The advantage of this method is, that the men are kept on the alert, and learn to disentangle themselves, and form with admirable rapidity; and they acquire the conviction, that whatever the order given, it must be promptly and precisely obeyed. As soon as all formations are familiar to the men, they are taught to pass from one to the other at a double, and without following any regulation order. The object sought is to obtain the instantaneous and mechanical execution of a movement, at the mere word of command. All formations and principles relative to dispersed order are taught with special care, always on the Exercirplatz, that is to say, without regard to the nature of the ground. It is only when a company is perfectly master of its regulation formations, that it passes to these exercises applied to the actual condition of the country.

These exercises last from five to six weeks. Not a movement is made without its mechanism and its tactical aim being clearly explained to the private soldier. During this initiatory process, the progress is slow, but when acquired, there follows extreme rapidity of manœuvring, commands succeeding one another without relaxation, executed at a run; regularity, the cadence of the steps, rectification of line, are strictly exacted when the movement is accomplished. Such is the method adopted; and the result is that the company acquires extraordinary suppleness, and the attention of every soldier is kept on the alert. For often the soldiers have no sooner taken three or four steps towards the formation that has been ordered, when a new command is given.

After the inspection of the companies, battalion drill follows, and occupies from three to four weeks. These exercises take place thrice a week, and occupy about three hours on each occasion. The other three days of the week are devoted to company drill. The men are also practised at judging distances, fencing, and at the targets. When the battalion review is satisfactorily over, regimental evolutions follow during a fortnight, on alternate days. After the regimental exercises, followed by an inspection, come the brigade exercises, occupying about a week. Then the brigades are inspected, and by that time, the period of spring exercises has come to an end, and has to make way for field exercises.

The war of 1870–71 produced such an impression on military officers, that the instruction of the troops has become, if possible, more practical than ever. In all their exercises we have the repetition of a battle in all its forms. The memorable day of Saint-Privat, especially, and the enormous losses to which the infantry were subjected in traversing that bare plain under a murderous fire, has greatly contributed to determine the direction of the present instruction of the troops.[1]

It is a matter of principle in these manœuvres never to repeat an order. He who has given one, waits patiently its execution. And if a subordinate hesitates, or makes a mistake, his superior officer is content to point it out to him when the *critique* takes place at the end of the instruction. It is thought of the utmost importance to allow him the means of correcting himself, of finding out his own mistake and remedying it as best he may, without the intervention of his superior. Again, I must repeat, the end aimed at constantly and unflaggingly in the German army, is to develop the individual initiative in every officer in every degree, from the general-in-chief to the sub-lieutenant. A German general says on this particular:—

"Although we have a perfect right at all moments to criticise the proceedings of our inferiors, yet we abstain, on principle, from doing this, even when we hear them express opinions in their *critiques* contrary to our own. No two men in this world see a thing from the same point of view, and we hold that, before we can judge of a system, it is necessary to wait till we can estimate the results it produces. When the day of inspection by us arrives, then we formulate our requirements and pass our opinion. But, above everything, our object is to develop in our officers initiative, and an interest in their profession. And we believe there is no better means of attaining this than by giving them full and entire liberty to follow what course they please, so long as the end be gained. Besides, by listening to their criticism, we obtain the precious elements of appreciation of the value of each."

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[1] See on these regulation exercises Tallenbach: *Die Taktik u. die Ausbildungsmethode d. Preussischen Exercirreglements f. die Infanterie.* Berlin, 1876.

Young English officers take but a languid interest in their profession They go through their duties perfunctorily; but it is a rare exception to find one eager and interested in the science of war. I have quoted in a former chapter the remark made to me by a German schoolmaster: "Your English boys play over their lessons, and work at their play. I rarely get a pupil from your country who takes any interest in his studies." It is much the same in our army. Our young officers do not take up their career as a business, but as a task. It is the reverse in Germany. Everything connected with his profession excites the liveliest interest in the lieutenant. His library is stocked with military books, he devours the last new monograph in military science with more eagerness than the English officer manifests for Ouida's latest novel. The German press teems with books of this sort, and publishers would not undertake them unless they had a large sale. I have counted eighty-five works, exclusive of magazines and papers devoted to military matters, which have been published during the three months, April, May, and June, 1878. Can the English press show a quarter of this number in the whole year? And here I may add my opinion of the young German officer, as he is a social and moral element in every city. I have the very highest opinion of him for his integrity, honour, devotion to his profession, and to the men put under his charge. I do not believe a more worthy, conscientious set of officers is to be found in any army. That they are not always what we understand in England by gentlemen, is also true: they are drawn from the bürger class, and inherit its want of breed.[1] And if anything could reconcile an Englishman to the idea of universal military service, it would be the conduct of men and officers in a garrison town. The three years' service has a mighty educational effect on the country clown. It sharpens his intelligence, polishes his manner, widens his ideas, teaches him the advantages of organisation, and the necessity for discipline, and he returns to his native village, improved physically, mentally, and often morally as well.

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[1] This applies to the infantry and artillery. The cavalry are recruited almost exclusively from the gentry. A few of noble blood are to be found in the infantry; but very few. In the army, as elsewhere, class distinction intervenes injuriously. When I speak of "gentlemanliness," I do not mean only in manner, but in mind.

4. *Period of Field Exercises.*—With summer begin the exercises applying what has been already learned to the exigencies of facts, as in real warfare. For this purpose, the soldiers are taken out into the country, sometimes for the whole day, sometimes for twenty-four hours, and even more. They are taught to adapt their movements to the nature of the country, to take on the march all the precautions necessary in time of war, to execute small manœuvres, attack and defend positions, surmount obstacles, bivouack, also to learn sapping, swimming, and practice at targets. Up to the middle of June these exercises are carried out in companies, after that in battalions, and then in regiments, and with troops of all arms combined.

Modern warfare has proved the great importance of these exercises: consequently, the greater part of the summer is placed at the disposal of the commandant of a company for carrying them out. We will take very briefly the regulations governing them.

1. *Patrols and Outpost Duty.*—Although this branch of service specially belongs to the cavalry, it is, however, made a matter of serious attention in the infantry. Before sending out a company, outposts are exercised near the barracks on the drill-ground, so that all may see the object sought and the general disposition. The soldiers thus learn at once how the foreposts serve as a protection to themselves, and as spies on the movements of the enemy. And the officers take pains to point this clearly out to their men, and show them how to regulate their dispositions by those of the enemy. When these first principles are well ground into them, the company is led into the country.

Great care is taken to train soldiers to execute their duties as sentinels and patrols with intelligence and observation. Every soldier has it impressed on him to distinguish rigorously between what he has seen and what he believes he has seen, between facts and conjectures—a lesson much harder to learn than many would suppose. Every report contains first statements of what has actually been observed, and then conclusions drawn from them. It is worthy of remark that in all reports, whether in time of peace or of war, one uniform pattern of memoranda and envelopes is used. Each page bears all the necessary indications, printed by the Imperial Secret Press at Berlin, which issues these memoranda-books and envelopes to all the soldiers. On the envelope, beside the address and the hour of despatch and receipt, is marked the pace at which it is to be conveyed to its destination. X indicates that it may be carried at foot-pace; XX, at a trot; and XXX, at a gallop. These marks give the measure of the importance of a despatch. The reports and addresses are always written in pencil. This uniform method of reporting has this advantage, that every soldier is perfectly familiar with it, and with the regulation for the transmission of orders and information; moreover, all reports being of an uniform size, are more easily preserved in the journals of the march and the regimental archives.

After the instructions of the companies, battalion exercises follow, and then those of regiments, each fraction occupying all the space which, according to the conditions of the land, it would have to occupy in the event of actual war. During these manœuvres, which sometimes last a long time, the officers are given independent missions of which they must render an account later.

2. To familiarise the men with marches and the precautions to be adopted on them, advantage is taken of the journey to the field of exercise. Often two companies, or two battalions, take different routes toward the same spot, and feel one another on their way, or, on the contrary, watch and harass each other's march. Along the whole way they fire incessantly on one another, as a soldier discovers himself flying from one poplar to another, or a head appears above a hedge, or out of a ditch, along which a column is creeping under cover.

3. To these two species of exercises is added instruction on the manner of organising and guarding a bivouac. The men are taught the proper dispositions: the vedettes and other sentinels are placed; the position of the kitchens is determined, and sometimes actually erected and used. The men learn to extemporise fireplaces with bricks or stones or clay, and to collect fuel for them, some arrangement having been come to beforehand with the owner of the land. The men not occupied, either seated or standing, are given full explanations of the why and wherefore of everything that is done, and why the spot is chosen. To exercise the officers and non-commissioned officers in choosing proper places for bivouacking, the troop is preceded by a patrol commanded by an officer charged with this duty.

4. During the little manœuvres the men are taught to surmount difficulties, to jump ditches, and, if too wide to be overleaped, to bridge them. In traversing a wood, call-words are given out to the several companies, and the men enter the wood and disappear, but are kept together by their cries.

5. Small manœuvres are made, such as the attack or defence of divers accidents of the country, either with or without an enemy represented. Sometimes part of a company is detailed to keep a group of houses or a hill against the advance. I have seen dummy soldiers *in French uniform* put previously about on a wooded slope in positions likely to be occupied by an enemy defending it.

The captain, standing in the middle of his company, points out to his men what has to be done. Such a height has to be stormed, or the enemy dislodged from such a village. He indicates the difficulties and the advantages of the ground; and shows them the objections which forbid his adopting one mode of attack, and the reasons which induce him to take another. He bids the men observe on what point during the attack their attention must be fixed, and how that success depends on such and such things being done. When companies are engaged in sham fight with one another, the commandants of the battalions give their captains small tactical problems which they are required to resolve.

6. During all these exercises, the men are incessantly called on to observe and take advantage of the accidents of the ground in all possible circumstances, being told both *how* to do so, and also *why* to do so.

7. All through the summer the men are taught swimming: a lesson in the Schwimmbad generally follows some instruction that has not been of an exhausting nature.

8. The men are not exercised in the corps to manage cannon. But the commandants of battalions detach annually from one to four lance-corporals into the artillery, to learn there the management of caissons of infantry ammunition. Each battalion by this means obtains a number of men familiar with this branch of the service.

9. Instruction on spade work becomes annually more and more important. Since the Russo-Turkish war it has attracted redoubled attention. In order to have good instructors for the regiments, each details annually one officer and six non-commissioned officers

to the sappers and miners, where they learn the work necessary for the infantry. This is acquired in about forty-eight days, according to this table.

	DAYS
1. Preliminary exercises. The resolution of geometrical problems on the surface of the soil. Tracing and measuring lines	2
2. The making of fascines, gabions, baskets, &c.	3
3. The throwing up of lines of defence, creation of obstacles	12
4. Castrametation	8
5. Military bridges	14
6. Destruction of railways and telegraphs	3
7. Practical application of preceding instructions	6
	48

After the end of the grand manœuvres in each regiment platoons of sappers are formed (*Pionierzüge*). To constitute them eight soldiers are detached from a company, and one officer from a battalion. The union of these twelve platoons forms the regimental detachment of pioneers, who are placed under the instruction of those previously detailed for the purpose of learning the work, as already described. The regimental detachment of pioneers, therefore, comprises, including instructors, four officers, six non-commissioned officers, and ninety-six soldiers.

The effective force of this detachment may seem small, but it must not be forgotten that, as the regiment renews itself every year for three years, the actual number is not 96, but 288 well-instructed soldiers, capable of teaching the others. Moreover, as one officer and six non-commissioned officers are detailed to learn sapping every year, after a few years almost all the lieutenants, and many of the superior officers, have passed through the sapping school, and the regiment contains a very considerable number of non-commissioned officers perfectly familiar with the use of the spade.

With regard to target practice, I will note but one significant fact:—all officers, under the commandants of the battalion, are obliged to pass every year through the whole course of exercises with the gun at the target. This obligation extends also to the superior officers, the colonel included, and his practice is recorded on the book of the first company, precisely like that of a private.

5. *The Autumnal Manœuvres.*—Three months before these begin the general charged with the conduct of a division or a brigade is

informed where they are to take place. The area allowed for them is about thirty square miles. He goes there, inspects it, and sketches the outline of some dozen affairs which might come off there, the forcing of a defile, the passage of a river, the storming of a height, &c. Then he returns and arranges his sketches for carrying out on so many days. When the period of the manœuvres has arrived, the troops are marched to the scene. It takes them, of course, several days. Then, on the eve of each sham fight, each commander-in-chief receives a written notice of what has to be done by him, and he is left entirely free in his movements till the end of the battle. Each of these affairs is always over by two o'clock in the afternoon. The commanders-in-chief for the morrow are then designated, and they betake themselves with their troops to their respective cantonments, and give the orders necessary for the morrow.

But the important feature of the manœuvres is the criticism passed on each as soon as it is executed. This is a lesson in applied tactics practically illustrated by what has just taken place. It embraces the twenty-four hours of command of each commander-in-chief, and takes place as follows.

As soon as the action is judged to be terminated, the general has the "cease fire" called on his bugle, and this is repeated over the field. At this signal, all the officers assemble about him, and the commanders in turn give their accounts. If one is uncertain about a detail, as a brush of outposts, the destruction of a bridge, or the depth of a stream at a certain point, he calls on the officer of his camp who assisted at it to supply the requisite information. The head of the other camp then gives his account. After that the general sums up, and passes his opinion on the general result with great moderation and forbearance. He is guided, not only by what he has seen himself, but by information supplied by the umpires. These are staff officers of various grades, distinguished by a white favour. Their united reports allow of all the particulars of the combat being collected in their chronological order. It is their office, during the contest, to stop the fire and the advance of troops when they judge that in actual warfare they would have been placed *hors de combat*. Their decision is without appeal, and executed immediately. Their reports are communicated privately to the general, whilst the officers are on their way to hear his critique. Consequently, they become an instruction to him as well as to those engaged. Each commandant compares what has really taken place with what he believed he saw, and this makes the manœuvre the more interesting, for each is sure of being able to complete or rectify his views at the end of the day, of ascertaining then what had escaped his eye or intelligence during the action. Without the criticism, the manœuvres might be mischievous rather than useful, for those who saw wrong might remain undeceived and be confirmed in their errors. But the critique sets all to rights. The criticism of the foreposts and of the reconnaissances takes place after that of the engagement. After dinner, the general directing the manœuvres mounts his horse and betakes himself with his staff to the outposts of the two camps which are to be engaged on the following day.

6. *The Grand Manœuvres* succeed those of the detachment. In them, at least a whole army corps is engaged. They are the crown of all that has preceded of the military instruction of the year. Of these it is quite impossible here to give any particular account. They are rehearsals of great battles. But one feature in them recurs frequently, which is evidently a favourite with Prussian tacticians, and which deserves mention. During the course of the combat, the different groups of forces are occupied on their several tasks. The action appears to be one of a series of detached engagements. Then, suddenly, towards the close of the day, all form for a general attack, and are poured like an avalanche at the foe, with the purpose of crushing or enveloping him. The movement along a league of country is conducted with lightning-like rapidity. Troops out of sight of one another attack at almost the same minute. This is the fruit of frequent exercise.

I am writing a chapter, and not a book, on the organisation of the German army, and therefore can only note such features as are peculiar to it, and that strike a foreigner. Want of space obliges me to omit much that would be interesting to military men rather than to the general reader. For this reason I must also pass over the special training of the cavalry and of the artillery, that I may describe some other special features of the German system deserving of attention.

Having spoken of the ordinary private, I will now say something of the volunteer, and the *Gefreite*, who has been met with in the course of the preceding pages, and who has probably puzzled the reader.

Every German subject, as soon as he is seventeen, is recognised as able for military service, and if he likes, may then enter as a volunteer. The heads of the corps are not, however, bound to accept every man who offers, and a volunteer has sometimes very great difficulty in obtaining admission. This is, perhaps, more the case with the volunteers for three years, who enter at seventeen, than with the others, for an officer does not like to have a boy of that age in his company, when he is sure to get him later, if he wants.

There are *Freiwilligers* (volunteers) of two sorts :—

1. Those who volunteer for three years, in the cavalry for four years.

2. Those who volunteer for one year (*Einjähriger*).

1. *Volunteers of Three Years.*—The number admitted into a company in the course of the year may not exceed ten, or forty in the battalion. This restriction applies, however, only to the infantry. In the cavalry, when they volunteer for four years, they are most readily received, and whole regiments are made up of them exclusively. Volunteers of three years are paid and equipped by the state. The only advantage they gain is that they get over their military service earlier than if they waited till called into the ranks, and they need not live in barrack.

2. *The Einjähriger.*—Every young man between seventeen and twenty apt for military service, of irreproachable conduct, who has satisfied the Government that he has been highly educated, may enter the army as a volunteer of one year.

The institution of volunteers for a year has for object the preparation of officers and sub-officers for the reserve, capable of being utilised in time of war.

To become an Einjähriger, a young man must produce a certificate of having passed, in the *first* class at the Lyceum or Bürgerschule, an examination conducted by commissioners appointed by the Government. The examination is extremely searching and hard; consequently only youths of ability can pass it. Moreover, as these young men are destined to become officers of the reserve, the heads of the corps are very particular about admitting only those who they are satisfied will do credit to it and they pitilessly refuse those who do not satisfy them on their past respectability of conduct. That a certain amount of class favouritism, or prejudice against the appearance of a candidate, influences them, is asserted, and may be true.

A Freiwilliger, once admitted, is obliged to serve a year either in the ranks or in a military establishment, according to whether he possesses a general or a special education, which may be utilised in the army. Consequently the Freiwilligers may serve either as ordinary soldiers, or as doctors, veterinary surgeons, or chemists.

Each company can receive annually only four volunteers, except in university towns, where the number of Einjähriger is unlimited.

The Einjähriger receive no pay, purchase their uniform, board and lodge at their own cost, and are not counted among the effective force. Arms and equipment are furnished them by the regiment at a certain annual price, and they are bound to restore them to the depot, at the end of their term, in good condition. An uniform in the line costs 58 mks. 62 pf., or nearly 3*l*., and for the use of their arms they pay 3 mks. 23 pf., or 3*s*. 3*d*. A chasseur, however, pays for his regimentals 3*l*. 18*s*. 0*d*., and for his arms 1*l*. In the cavalry a volunteer pays 15*l*. for his horse, 6*s*. for shoeing, and he keeps him in hay and corn.

In the train, the price of a horse is 7*l*. 10*s*.

The Einjähriger do not live in barrack: they lodge in town; but have, of course, to attend drill and parade at the regular hours. They are distinguished from the ordinary privates by a button on the collar, and are usually drilled apart from the rest.

Six months after entering the service, the Einjähriger are inspected by the commandant of the regiment, not only in their drill, but also on their theoretical knowledge. If they pass the examination well, they are promoted to be "Gefreiten;" and from that day serve as lance-corporals. At the close of the year, the commandant of the regiment gives each volunteer a certificate indicating the extent of his military knowledge, and the functions he is calculated to fill in the reserve; that is, whether he is fit to be classed as an officer or as an under-officer. Those to whom this certificate is refused, are relegated to be privates in the reserve. Those who have obtained the certificate of officer in the reserve quit the regiment with the grade of under-officer; but this certificate does not give them the right to be named immediately officers in the reserve: to obtain this, they must, in the year following their liberation, serve for two months again. During the first month that they are again under colours, they act as non-commissioned officers; then, if they are considered to merit it, are advanced to be Vice-Feldwebel. When they have completed their eight weeks, they are dismissed with a certificate stating whether or not they deserve promotion. Furnished with this, the candidates go to the commandant of the district of the Landwehr battalion to which they belong, and he subjects their claim to the vote of the officers of the district. For this purpose there exists a permanent commission (*Wahlcommission*) in every battalion district, composed of the oldest captain and of two lieutenants, and the nomination of each new candidate is put to the vote. Against the decision of the majority there is no appeal. If the vote of the corps of officers is favourable, the candidate is proposed to the Government for the grade of officer of reserve. The object of the election is to enable the reserve and Landwehr to secure as their officers only men whose conduct in their homes offers a guarantee that they will not discredit their epaulettes. When named to the Emperor, the new officer of the reserve receives a brevet, informing him whether he is attached to a regiment, or simply to his district of the Landwehr. That this system is productive of good effects, and is of very precious advantage to the army, is a matter of general recognition. Irrespective of the good results produced by the passage through the ranks of all these well-educated and highly instructed young men, the system of Einjähriger has afforded a simple and rational solution to one of the most difficult problems of mobilisation—the recruital of the officers. Nearly all the European armies suffer from want of reliable officers, even in time of peace. Where are the requisite number to be obtained, all at once, for the mobilisation of the active army, and to form the reserve, and Landwehr? The part of an officer in modern warfare has become so important and so difficult, that, in order to perform it properly in time of war, it is indispensable that a special education for it should have been acquired in time of peace. This question of capital importance long engaged the attention of the Prussian Government, which has resolved it in this really brilliant manner

Not only is the army provided by this means with a reserve of officers who can be employed for the formation of new corps, but each regiment possesses as it were a depot of officers, a well-replenished store belonging specially to it, and with all the *personnel* of which the regiment is fully acquainted. This is a consideration of extreme importance. The corps, in instructing their Einjähriger, are working for themselves, and are those chiefly interested in using every effort to give these young men the best possible military education, for it will require their aid at the critical moment of mobilisation, and during war. These Einjähriger, so far from being regarded as a privileged set, evading the duties of three years' service, a burden to the corps for which there is not compensation, are highly esteemed, and the labour devoted on them is not regarded as thrown away. Each regiment is always able, in the event of war, to call to its aid the cream of its pupils. Suppose, for instance, that in the course of a year fifty Einjähriger have been admitted. At the end of a twelvemonth, maybe, twenty-five have received a certificate of candidate for the grade of officer of reserve. Let us suppose that of these twenty-five, ten only—the ten best—are designated to be officers in their regiment: it follows that this regiment will send each year into its reserve ten officers belonging to it, specially chosen from among fifty volunteers, and fifteen good officers into the general reserve of the army. At the end of ten years, the regiment will have in its reserve about 80 officers, a superabundance, out of which to draw to supply the vacancies that may occur, either in its battalions engaged, or in the reserve and Landwehr. But even if a corps should happen not to have sufficient in its special reserve, it can easily supply itself from the general reserve, which is always abundantly filled.

The French system is not quite the same. With republican love of equality, all of every class have the same measure dealt out to them. The beds of the tramp and nobleman adjoin in the dormitory; they sit side by side at mess, and associate in one common room in hours of relaxation, as they dwell together in the same company on the parade-ground. The French period of military service is five years instead of three.

Now to a peasant and cotter's son, it is no hardship to live, work, and sleep in a crowd. He has been brought up not to know and care for the privacy of his own room. It is not so with a member of the upper or middle class. To him privacy is as much a necessity as clean linen and a tooth-brush, not only because his habits are more refined than those of the lower classes, but also because he has, on the expiration of his term of service, to enter a profession, and during service he must keep up his studies qualifying him for it. To do this in the common room of a barrack is impossible. The consequence is that the French system imposes on its superior classes a very galling hardship. A French gentleman now undergoing his military course writes: "I would I were a German for one reason!—to be a volunteer,—and escape the degradation of daily, nightly, hourly association with men, some of whom are the scum of a society not uncorrupt. In this atmosphere, the mind loses its polish and its edge, and callousness invades the heart. The barracks are to the man of culture what *les galères* are to the lower orders."[1]

The French system has not been working long enough for its results to have declared themselves, but some fruits are already ripening, and two are becoming conspicuous; the man of superior mental, moral, and social qualities leaves the barrack at the end of his service deteriorated, and consequently there is growing up among the cultivated classes a disgust and abhorrence for the service in which they were condemned to either one or five years' penal servitude. The effect produced in Germany is in all respects the reverse. A Freiwilliger of three years can escape barrack life except for one month. The object of the German Government is not to break down a man's self-respect, but to encourage it. And I believe there is scarce a private or volunteer who does not pass into the reserve a better man mentally, morally, and physically than he entered the army, and as a natural result, men look back on their three years with pride and gratitude.

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[1] A young Frenchman who wishes to avoid conscription may enlist as a one-year volunteer, after paying 60*l.* to Government and passing an examination with a view to showing that he has received a good school education; should he be unable to do this, he must take his chance at the lottery. If he draws a bad number, he will have to serve five years; if a good one, he gets off with six months, and is then drafted into the active reserve, which renders him amenable to be called out for twenty-eight days' training every two years until he is thirty. After this he is enrolled in the Territorial Army, which can only be called out in case of an invasion. As for the soldier who has served five years, he likewise passes into the active reserve for four years after his discharge, and during that time he may be ordered to rejoin his regiment in case of war. Thus the active reserve will in time comprise men who have served six months or five years; but as the new military law only took effect in 1873, the first supply of five-year men has not yet been drafted, and the bulk of the reserves is made up of men who served seven years under the old Imperial law.

It is impossible to deny that the rigorous method of instruction followed with the troops has much to do with the excellence of the results attained: it must not, however, be left out of sight that the officers are the soul of this instruction. Whatever may be the level of their general education, one may justly say that they are all, in their particular lines, specialists, and are full of the liveliest zeal for the service.

No doubt there are exceptions. But the officer who neglects his duties is closely watched, and if the measures taken to reform him do not succeed, he is remorselessly sacrificed to the general interest, he is dismissed, be his rank what it may. For the good of the service is not in theory only, but in fact, the supreme law, in the eye of which general and lieutenant are equal, and the principle that no man must be allowed to occupy a post for which he is incompetent is superior to every consideration.

But the vigilance of the superiors is not the only guarantee for efficiency. Equals mutually watch one another, for to all the service is a sacred cause; the accomplishment of their duty is a question of honour and professional dignity. And this sentiment is so deeply ingrained, at least among the immense majority of German officers, that it overrides all personal considerations. They will not endure association with an incapable comrade, and they force him to resign the service and adopt another profession.

Thanks to these principles, conducted steadfastly for many years, the most brilliant results have been attained. The pitiless exclusion of all worthless elements on one side, and on the other the importance of the material advantages and honours accorded to the most deserving, have given birth to and maintained the most ardent emulation in the corps of officers in the German army. And this struggle for existence, this moral contest, is met with in every arm. In the line as in all degrees of the hierarchy, the effects are made manifest by the extremely conscientious manner in which every one fulfils the details of his task, and by the mutual respect which is elicited between all those who discharge their obligations well. Anything like the listlessness which is so common among our officers is foreign to the German army; for every officer knows that to keep his position, and much more to gain an advance, indefatigable and persistent work is indispensable, and not that only, but also one fertile in practical results.

At first sight it might be supposed that this constant rivalry between the officers would destroy good-fellowship. But the reverse is the case. Nowhere is it found more strongly developed. It is not restrained within the narrow circle of the regiment, but extends to all corps and to all branches of the service. It constitutes, in a word, a most powerful link binding together the members of the great military family. This *esprit de corps* is not developed merely by the solidarity created by common interests. There are other causes, and in the first line may be reckoned the conditions of existence in which they are placed, such as—1. The mode in which the officers are recruited. 2. The liberty allowed to each in his own sphere of action. 3. The regimental mess. On these points I shall not say much. To the second I have called attention already. With regard to the last, it is sufficiently known to need no particular description. The officers are recruited from the upper ranks of society, from among young men who desire to make the army their profession. They must have served six months at least in a corps, and have passed a very trying examination. Moreover, a candidate for cadetship must obtain the consent of the head of the corps, which is not granted without a very searching examination into his moral, social, and mental qualifications. From the very first day of his admission, the cadet takes his place at the table of the officers, and has access to all their gatherings and military conferences. He is at once made to feel that he is a member of the corps of officers, so that he may accustom himself to their mode of life, and to the usages they observe in their mutual relations. They are of course subjected to very special and careful training in the A B C of military sciences, the bases for private study. But they are made clearly to understand that there is no advance possible for them unless they apply themselves diligently to their profession, and complete for themselves the very solid, but elementary instruction that has been given them. There are several military colleges for their training: Potsdam, Metz, Anclam, Neisse, Engen, Erfurt, Hanover, Cassel, and Munich. The course in these colleges is from eight to ten months. When it is complete, the officers detailed to give instruction to the cadets return to their regiments to take part in the grand manœuvres.

The cadet returns also to his regiment, and remains there till an election for a vacancy among the ensigns, which is made by the officers of the corps after a second scrutiny into the life and character of the candidate.[1]

The principle of free election of officers by their peers proves a most cogent motive to good conduct and personal effort. It is to this that the German army owes the recognition accorded to it in all classes. An officer has access to every circle. It is by its constant application that the ties of brotherhood are formed which unite the officers of a regiment, and even those of the whole army. It is by means of this that the corps of officers has become the animating soul that communicates movement and life to the whole army.

It must not be lost sight of, that the German soldier, being better educated than the English soldier, is more difficult to manage. He joins the army with formed opinions, and often with all sorts of pretensions. He reads the papers, has his political colour, and, what is more serious, knows enough to criticise and appreciate the acts of his officers. This is not, of course, the case with the mass of the soldiers, drawn from the country and from following the plough. But there are men also from the towns, some who have been reared in an atmosphere of Social Democracy, and such men, voluble and intelligent, are likely to exercise a dangerous influence on their simpler comrades. But though, from this point of view, the command of the men becomes difficult, it has its advantages.

In the corps there are men of superior class, and they exercise some influence, no doubt, in refining the others, though not much. But the happiest result is that all the officers are forced to keep themselves up to the level of their part and position. Each understands that he cannot teach others if he does not take the lead in knowledge, in personal qualities, and in courage. He is ever conscious that he must let the soldiers recognise a real superior in the man who commands them.

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[1] As sub-lieutenant, he receives 1,200 mks. per annum = 60*l*., but he is not elected to be an officer unless he can show that he has a private income equal to his pay.

Lieutenants undergo a very searching examination into their qualifications, which lasts fourteen days. Such as have given the examiners reason to believe that they are men of extraordinary ability are taken into the "Kriegs-Akademie," but this contains only from 180 to 200 students. Here they study for two years In the third year they declare themselves specialists in some particular branch of military science, or subject of military interest. They are then furnished with money by the War Office to travel for a twelvemonth, and perfect their speciality by study abroad; and they return reports to the War Office of their observations. On coming home they are appointed to the general staff, which thus forms an intelligence department as perfect as could be desired.

When one considers the marvellous perfection, in all its parts, of the German army, it is natural to compare it with the standard of our English service; and I think it is impossible for any one who knows anything about the two services to doubt that ours lags at least half a century behind that of Germany. Our organisation is not as thorough, our development of the intelligence of the several units is not as complete—indeed, we hardly attempt this, and we have not as yet inspired our officers in every grade with the consciousness that warfare is now a science demanding close attention and study. Nor have we the reserve force of other European nations. On a memorable occasion Lord Beaconsfield threw the taunt in the teeth of Russia, that England could stand two, or even three campaigns, without her treasury being exhausted. That is no doubt true, but what is of quite as much importance in war as money is soldiers. In the Crimean war we were reduced to send out boys—we had no more trained men. Modern wars demand vast armies. Suppose England should on some occasion make up her mind to hit one of her own size, instead of bullying little savages, and should try conclusions with burlier and more civilised antagonists than Abyssinians, Ashantees, Afghans, and Zulus,—what would be the result? One campaign would consume our available force. Suppose we beat our opponent in it, he could send up a column of reserves and form a fresh line, as solid as the first, and we should fill our gaps with old reservists and raw

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recruits. Suppose we beat him in a second campaign, he would mobilise the Landwehr, and bring against us a third disciplined army of approved, well instructed, thoroughly trained men, and what should we have then to meet it? A Continental Power can now launch army after army against its enemy, and its military power is only exhausted with the manhood of the nation.

I fear we rely too much on our money, and not enough on technical education. A hundred years ago James Douglas, in his amusing "Travelling Anecdotes in Europe," gave a conversation which took place at Aix-la-Chapelle between an English colonel and a Prussian major, which curiously shows that the relative positions of the services and conceptions of military strength were the same then as now:—

"'My countrymen,' said the colonel, as he raised the glass to his lips, 'have made no despicable figure on the Continent. Our great Duke of Marlborough drove the French to the very gates of their capital by force of arms.' 'By force of money, sir,' answered the major. 'But you allow him to have been a great general?' 'Very true; and if riches constitute great generals, your country should have the first in all Europe; but what necessity is there for your having enlightened generals, when you have money enough to purchase your victories? I am sorry to say, sir, that your commanders have shown, even in my memory, that they are entirely ignorant of the word *combination* in an army. When your generals conquer, they conquer alone by the bravery of their men.' 'What the devil else should they conquer by?' replied the colonel, something elated. 'By skill, sir; by the study of that terrific name, the *great scale of war:* we laugh at the word bravery. When our generals beat an enemy, they do not conquer by chance, or by the bravery of their troops, but by the mechanical power of their art. 'Tis true, your men stand in the point-blank direction of a cannon-ball by a constitutional firmness. We do not trouble our heads with stamina—we compel them to stand firm by discipline.' 'Then, I presume, the greatest coward in your army is as good a soldier as the bravest?' 'We have no cowards; we all fight—every man of us.'"[1]

The science of war is now cultivated to such a pitch, the field telegraph, like the nervous system of a human body, ties the whole army together into such a sentient whole, that victory is entirely the result of skilful combination. Mere brute courage counts for nought. No doubt our junior officers are as daring and brave as any men in the world, but when they know more of the rules of polo, and of the figures of a dance, than of evolutions in the face of an enemy, their courage will profit them nothing. Battles are now decided without the combatants coming to blows, when they can only discern one another through a telescope; courage is therefore passive, not active; it is merely dogged resolution to stand uncovered in a rain of bullets, knowing no more whence they come than if they poured out of the heavens.

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[1] Douglas: *Travelling Anecdotes through Various parts of Europe.* 3rd edition. London, 1786, p. 269 *seq.*

One serious deficiency with us is capable of being remedied without making any radical change in our system. The German army has seventeen depots of men and munitions of war, each depot supplies a corresponding army division. We have but one store of arms—Woolwich, almost entirely unprotected. Let us suppose that a hostile army effected a landing on our South or East coast. If that enemy were Germany, our defence would collapse like a pricked bladder. The invading force would at once secure Woolwich, which is undefended by forts, and with the loss of it the heart of our resistance would be taken out of it. We need at least one central depot—say at Weedon—protected by a number of detached forts, which would harass and detain an invader. Again, our reserve system is altogether inadequate to our needs. The German reserves are called out *every* year, and consist of the cream of the army, of men who have served three years in the standing army. Every year for eight weeks the reserve is under drill, to ensure its efficiency, and to ensure its mobilisation on a moment's notice.

It is impracticable for us to adopt universal military conscription. It is a misfortune for an European nation to be obliged to have resort to this; but it is, under present circumstances, inevitable. We have a blue moat that surrounds us, and that saves us from having recourse to universal conscription for weighting our arm. It is not necessary for us to discuss the expedient, so long as we have the intention to remain at peace with the nations on the Continent, and snap our fingers only in the faces of barbarians. Nor is it necessary to discuss it so long as we intend maintaining a purely defensive attitude, in the event of an European war in which we may be involved. In the field, whether abroad or at home, we could do nothing; we should be overwhelmed by numbers or bewildered by skill, and be like the bandaged boy in blind-man's buff, struck here, there, and everywhere, without knowing who was the assailant, and where to charge.

There is one eminently weak point in our system which is remediable. Our officers, from the lowest to the highest, should be required to cultivate their profession, study for it, and live for it. They are now, with rare exceptions, listless, hunting after pleasure, caring nothing for the art of their profession. We have, I do not doubt it, first-rate tacticians among our superior officers, but lower down there is not any professional enthusiasm. Before the Fire of London, Paul's Walk—the nave of St. Paul's—was a lounge for idle people, not a place for public devotion. Our army is too much of a Paul's Walk—a professional lounge for young men of family and small brains, not a place for hard work and intellectual culture.

Fielding caustically remarks that in his day "Nature hath made in some persons the skull three times as thick as in those of ordinary men, who are designed to exercise talents which are vulgarly called rational, and for whom, as brains are necessary, she is obliged to leave some room for them in the cavity; whereas, those ingredients being entirely useless to persons of the heroic calling, she hath an opportunity of thickening the bone, so as to make it less subject to any impression, or liable to be cracked or broken; and, indeed, in some, who are predestined to the command of armies, she is supposed sometimes to make that part perfectly solid."[1] We have advanced far since Fielding's day, and we have competitive examinations before candidates can be admitted to Woolwich. But that is not enough. Still the prejudice remains among parents that any boy, if he be not clever, is suitable for an officer, as that any boy, who is deficient in manliness, is cut out by nature to be a parson. The cream of intelligence is given to commerce. The sharp, clever boy goes into business, the dunce or dawdle into the army, and the milk-sop into the Church. Competitive examination sifts out the worst of the candidates. But all pass into the army out of Woolwich, as they will pass out of life into Paradise, exclaiming, "Glory be to God, now we have nothing more to do but to kick our heels."

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[1] *Joseph Andrews*, bk. ii. ch. 9.

Pluck, as the Prussian major at Aix truly said, a hundred years ago, is not an element to be considered in modern warfare. Of course our soldiers go into battle with it just as they go into battle wearing a pair of trowsers—*ça va sans dire.* But one is as much conducive to victory as the other. Professional skill is the essential element of success in modern warfare. The great advantage of this is dexterity in the handling of masses. The head may conceive a project, but unless hand and foot execute it instantaneously, the chance of its success is lost. This dexterity is the result of constant practice. It is precisely the same with an army as with the human body: rapidity of movement, dexterity, is the result of laborious practice. An acrobat can execute the most astonishing evolutions with his body, and put it into the most unusual attitudes; a prestidigitator can work magic with his nimble fingers. A German army is trained like an acrobat and a prestidigitator. Finger and foot are obedient to instant command of the brain, and perform their task with such rapidity that the thing is done, and the means are unperceived. This must be acquired by hard and incessant practice, and till this is acquired by our army we shall be unable to cope with a military power trained on the modern principle. In the German army the important part played by the *critique* has been pointed out. It quickens the intelligence of every member of the body. It does more, it creates interest in the science. This is a feature not sufficiently carried out in the English service. Instruction on the why and wherefore of every evolution, manœuvre, and detail of the service is not given and made general. If this were adopted, interest in the profession might be expected to awake.

The German army, there can be no question, is a crushing charge on the country. The field army for 1881, exclusive of Landwehr and Landsturm formations, but inclusive of train and administration, consists of 17,621 officers, and 745,602 men, 1560 guns, and 240,000 horses.

The garrisoning army, inclusive of Landwehr, consists of 22,475 officers, 619,240 men, 2040 guns, and 80,364 horses.

The whole available force on a war-footing, including Landwehr, but exclusive of the administration, is 1,469,794 men, exclusive of

Freiwilligers, 49,793 officers, 390,350 horses, and 2364 field guns. The number of men in the Landsturm cannot be ascertained exactly, but it is at least 1,000,000 men.

The army estimate for 1880-81, is 344,625,887 marks, or 17,231,294*l.*, that is, 18,710,821 marks more than for 1879-80. To this must be added an extraordinary demand for 28,998,457 marks, *i.e.* 21,384,000 more than for the preceding year. This makes a total demand for 373,624,844 marks, *i.e.* 18,681,242*l.* It must be remembered that Germany is not only paying this enormous sum in taxes, direct and indirect; it is also sacrificing three years of the life of nearly all its young men, and two months a year for four years more of the time of those who pass into the reserve, all which time might have been occupied in earning money. But not only are the earnings of some seven hundred thousand men annually lost, but neither men nor junior officers can live on their pay. They must draw upon their parents' savings for three years. A soldier's pay is 30 Pfennige per diem; in addition, he gets a sum which varies according to the prices of the markets of the garrison in which he may be quartered. On an average it may be stated as 15 Pfennige, making a total of 45 Pfennige. From this total a deduction is made of 30 Pfennige, to pay for his rations at breakfast and dinner. The soldier receives also a daily ration of commissariat bread. The dinner consists of soup, some meat and vegetables, no beer. For breakfast, soup and bread. For supper he must pay extra. It is quite impossible for growing young men to live on the rations and the 15 Pfennige or 1¾*d.* a day, which falls to them. Those who are very poor hang about the kitchens of the hotels and restaurants for broken meat; some do a little work in their spare time to earn a few coppers. But generally they are supplied with money by their relations.

What a terrible charge the army is to the country may be judged by the facts just stated. The questions that arise are: Is it necessary? and, Is the army worth this?

That it is necessary few Germans will dispute. France has adopted universal military conscription, and is working with might and main, and with marked success, to reorganise its army; the rapid strides it is making force Germany not to relax her efforts. If France is awake, Fatherland must not go to sleep. That France desires to wipe away the humiliation of 1870-71 no

German doubts, and he knows that it is only because Germany does not relax her efforts that France is not already at her throat. I have heard many and general regrets expressed over the war of 1870–71, and acknowledgments that the greatness of the success has proved a misfortune in the end—regrets also that the boundary was not drawn at the Vogesen instead of the heights above Metz; but I have not heard one man express a doubt that the armed attention of Germany is necessary now, and will be for years to come. That it is disastrous to commerce, a burden on the country, they admit, but they know well also that it is unavoidable.

And if the answer "yes" must be given to the first question, whether this universal armament be necessary, so must a "yes" be given to the second. The army is well worth what it costs the country. It is the great school not only of polishing the manners, and quickening the intelligence of the nation, but it is teaching something more—patriotism, and saturating the consciousnesses of all the youth of the country with the necessity there exists for Germany to be *One.* It is fusing Hessian, and Prussian, and Badenser, and Würtemberger, Hanoverian, and Saxon, and Bavarian into one German people. It is undoing that particularism which was the bane of the past. The lesson may be an expensive one to learn, but it is a lesson that must be learned at any cost.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STAGE.

God be with you, good people, go and act your play; and if there be anything in which I may be of service to you, command me, for I will do it readily; having been from my youth a great admirer of masques and theatrical representations.—*Don Quixote.*

"On April 26, in the year 1322," says Johann Rothe in his "Thuringian Chronicle," "after Easter there was performed at Eisenach a dramatic representation of the "Ten Virgins," five of whom were wise, and five foolish, according to the Gospel, as preached by Christ. And the Landgrave Frederick was present, and saw and heard how the five foolish virgins were cast out of eternal life, and how Mary and all the saints interceded for them in vain. Then he fell into great doubt, and was very wroth, and exclaimed: "What profit is there in the Christian faith if God will show no pity at the prayer of Mary and the saints?" And he went to the Wartburg, and was wroth five days, and the learned could hardly appease him and make him understand the purport of the Gospel. And then he had a stroke, brought on by the great distress he was in, and he lay sick of it three years in bed. And then he died, at the age of fifty-five."

It is significant that the first historic notice of a dramatic performance in Germany should also illustrate the strong impression it produced upon a German mind.

In his "Confessions" Saint Augustine bewails the hold the stage had on his affections in his unregenerate days. The heathen stage certainly deserved the censure of the early Fathers as dangerous to morals. Under the condemnation of the Church, without the imperial court at Rome to support it, the drama died out in the West, to be revived in a Christian form in the Mystery. Germany produced her great dramatist in the tenth century—an abbess, Hroswitha, who, finding that the reading of Plautus was not of spiritual profit to her daughters in religion, wrote for them a series of Latin plays on the legends of the saints: dramas of no ordinary merit, and not without their spice of comedy.

It is not my intention to enter at any length into the history of Mystery Plays; but something must be said of those which were performed in Germany, as this species of performance is not extinct.

In 1412, at Bautzen, was performed in the market-place the play of "Saint Dorothea," and thirty-three spectators, standing on the roof of a house, were killed by the giving way of the rafters. In 1417, during the sitting of the Council of Constance, the "Mystery of the Birth of Christ," the "Adoration of the Magi," and the "Massacre at Bethlehem," were performed before the Emperor Sigismund. These plays often lasted several days. In 1536, one, "Les Actes des Apôtres," was put on the stage at Bourges; it continued forty days, and consisted of 40,000 verses, contained in nine volumes.

Every village church, probably, had its theatrical performances at Epiphany and Easter. One of the pranks of Tyll Eulenspiegel turns on such a dramatic representation. Tyll served the parish priest as sacristan, and was entrusted at Easter with the duty of providing the three Marys. He chose three of the stupidest louts in the village, and drilled them in their parts. The priest had a wall-eyed house-keeper who was to enact the part of the angel at the tomb, sitting with her blind eye turned from the congregation; and the priest with a banner was to personate Christ. On Easter Day the three bumpkins dressed in female clothes drew up to the sepulchre and stooped before it. Then the white-robed angel blandly asked "Whom seek ye?" Thereupon the three Marys, with one voice, answered as instructed by Tyll, "We seek the parson's wall-eyed wench." The angel lost composure, sprang off the tomb, and clawed at the eyes of the Marys. Their wives, from the congregation, flew to the rescue. The parson, emerging from his hiding-place, laid about him with the banner, and, in the general scrimmage, Tyll made off.

In the St. Bartholomew's-Stift at Frankfurt-on-Main is preserved the stage director's book for the performance of a Passion Play, which continued to be enacted annually on the Römerplatz till 1506. In that year there were two hundred and sixty-seven performers, among whom were some of the clergy, and the church choir sang antiphons in Latin between the scenes. The Bible text was followed most closely. The cock crowed for Peter's conversion, the stage shook for the earthquake at the Crucifixion, and the hanging of Judas was so real that the actor taking the part on more than one occasion was resuscitated with difficulty. In 1437, at Metz, the priest who acted the part of Christ was so severely dealt with in the Crucifixion scene that he died of the consequences. The performance took place in the open air, under the sun; the pavement was parterre, the windows of the houses formed the boxes, and the roofs constituted the gallery.

In the great Mysteries the stage was at three elevations, and before it was a shallow but broad *podium* for the chorus. The lowest stage represented the nether world. In the midst was a door—the mouth of hell, and steps led from it on each side to the second stage, which figured earth. The highest stage was reserved for the Deity and the saints; it was heaven. Each stage was divided into three compartments by pillars. There was no curtain, no change of scenery, but the back of each platform was suitably painted, or hung with drapery. The Mount of Olives, the pinnacle of the Temple, etc., were made of wine-barrels piled on one another, disguised by painted canvas, whence the stage directions "Here Satan ascends the barrel," or "Judas springs off the barrel."

With this description of the structure of the mediæval stage, the reader will be able to follow the movement of a play composed in 1480 by a priest, Theodore Schernbeck, and published by Tilesius at Eisleben in 1565. It is entitled "Frau Jutta" and turns on the story of Pope Joan. It opens with a dance of demons on the lowest platform, singing in chorus—

Lucifer on throne of night,
Rimo, Rimo, Rimo!
Once an angel clad in light,
Rimo, Rimo, Rimo!
Now a devil foul to sight,
Rimo, Rimo, Rimo!

Lilith, Satan's grandmother, with a howl, leaps from the jaws of hell (in the centre) into the circle of caperers, and expresses her delight at their mad hullabaloo. All the while, on the highest stage, in a blaze of sunlight, silent, still as statues, sit Christ, his mother, and the saints, whilst angels kneel, with smoking censers, in adoration. Lucifer sends an angel on earth to inspire the maid Jutta with ambition to climb to the highest pinnacle of honour in the world, hitherto supposed to be accessible only to a man. The devil mounts to the middle stage, where the maid Jutta is seen ministering to her master and lover, a clerk. The evil spirit breathes the ambitious thought into her ear, and she discusses it with the clerk. They resolve to go to Paris together, where she, in male attire, may study with him in the university. Whilst they are on their journey the chorus on the *podium* sing. The stage direction is broad enough, "Unter des singet man etwas." When the studies at Paris are accomplished, Jutta receives the Doctor's bonnet, and goes to Rome with her clerk, where they enter the household of Pope Basil, are next appointed cardinals, and finally Jutta is elected Pope. All this is passed over rapidly, and preludes the main action of the piece, which now begins, and shows the advantages of the structure of the Mediæval stage for dramatic effect.

Jutta is enthroned Pope, and sits surrounded by cardinals, holding conclave, when a senator enters and represents that his son is possessed with a devil, which he prays the new Pope to expel. Now, for the first time, fear falls on the soul of the ambitious woman. The possessed boy is brought in, writhing on his couch, and she recognises in the spirit that afflicts him the demon who had inspired her with her sacrilegious purpose. She invites the cardinals to drive out the devil; they attempt it, but in vain. Then, hesitatingly, tremblingly, the Pope raises her voice in exorcism. The black spirit appears—hidden before behind the bed,—and flies towards hell, shrieking—

> Hear! hear this marvel all
> Assembled in Saint Peter's Hall,
> A woman has you all beguiled
> A woman-Pope, a Pope with child!

That the disclosure of such a scandal in the Church, wrought by a profligate woman, would produce a lively effect on a believing audience, entered into the calculations of the poet: and the threefold division of his stage assisted in making it effective. The lowest platform is crowded with scoffing, exulting demons, jabbering and pointing at the Pope, who sits on the middle stage, in full pontificals, blanched with fear, covering her eyes with shame, whilst the cardinals shrink back with dismay, or lean forward in question. Above, the Saviour discloses his pierced side, the saints express dismay. Mary kneels before her Son, and at her prayer he sends the Angel Gabriel to announce to Jutta the approach of death.

Thereupon the female Pope, filled with contrition, falls prostrate. She lifts her hands to heaven, and as she sees death—a skeleton—descend the stair of cloud, with poised javelin to smite her, she breaks into the musical cry—[1]

Mary, Mary, mother dear,
In my shame, my hour of fear,
Drops of blood I weep; receive
My confession! do not leave
Me, for evil I have done:
Plead for me to thy dear Son!

The stage direction orders a rushing together of the cardinals and of the populace around the dying Pope. A new-born child is lifted above their heads and shown to the audience. At the same moment the soul of Jutta is seen carried off by devils to the nether world.

A new situation now begins.

Blood rains out of heaven, and the earth quakes. The cardinals assume that heaven is outraged at the disgrace brought on the Holy See by Jutta, and resolve on a pilgrimage to invoke the intercession of Our Lady and St. Nicolas. They form into procession, with tapers and banners, and move along the middle stage chanting a litany. Below, the demons are tormenting the soul of Jutta, who pleads on in piteous hymns to Mary. Above, in heaven, the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicolas are entreating the Saviour, but—"Christus schweiget stille."

Then Mary recites all her cares and sorrows, from the hour of the Nativity in the stable till the dead head rested on the mother's lap beneath the Cross: the Saviour's brow relaxes, he raises his mother, and sends Michael to release the soul of Jutta.

The closing spectacle must have been one of extraordinary animation and dignity, the like of which cannot be equalled with all our modern appliances, in the opera. The devils recoil before Michael in his flashing silver armour, muttering a rolling bass of execrations. Simultaneously rise the wail of the litany as the procession winds, the song of thanksgiving from the lips of the redeemed soul, and a thunder of Alleluias from the host in heaven.

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[1] The musical notation is printed with the text.

What a subject for Wagner!

In the Mystery Plays representing the Gospel story, each scene was "interlarded" with a tableau, or scene in dumb show taken from the Old Testament, typical of the scene from the New Testament. In the *baroque* period this tradition of the religious drama survived under a form adapted to the taste of the period. In 1743 was enacted before Maria Theresa and Francis the First a play on the Conversion of Constantine, which opened with the stage representing a rock rising out of the sea, to which Andromeda was chained, and a monster at her feet was rising to devour her. Above sat enthroned Jupiter and the gods and goddesses of the heathen pantheon. Perseus rescues Andromeda. It is easy to trace the allegory. Constantine delivers the Christian Church from persecution. The prologue ends with Perseus giving Andromeda over to the charge of his friend Phineus. The first act represents Constantine's camp and the marshalling of his host.

The second entr'acte treats of the faithless Phineus, intent on securing Andromeda for himself, building a bridge with the bones of the sea-monster. Perseus appears on the winged horse, exhibits the Gorgon's head. Phineus plunges into the sea, his companions are turned to stone. The second act represents the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Maxentius is precipitated into the Tiber, the *labarum* strikes terror into the hearts of his soldiers, and the Senate of Rome falls prostrate in worship before the triumphant Cross.

The story of Andromeda also serves as prelude to a play of the "Sacrifice of Isaac" performed in 1725.

Any one who has seen the Ober-Ammergau, Mittewald, or Brixleg Passion Plays will recognise at once three features of the Mediæval Mystery which are preserved in them: the chorus singing the intermezzo on the podium; the proscenium enclosing only a third of the stage; and the allegorical tableaux from the Old Testament introducing each scene in the Gospel narrative.

Miracle Plays are not limited to these three spots. I have seen the "Life of Our Lord" enacted by strolling companies in the Black Forest, and in the Pyrenees. But perhaps the most curious representation of the last scenes of the sacred history I have witnessed was at Mechlin, a few years ago, on the fête of St. Rumbold. A travelling band of players had erected a large tent with stage in it, in the market-place; and their programme of entertainments consisted of:—

1. Tight-rope dancing, tumbling, and performing dogs.
2. The laughable farce of "A Ghost in spite of himself."[1]
3. The Passion and Resurrection of Christ.

It was more than startling to see "the spangled sprite of the shining shower," who pirouetted on the tight-rope, figure half an hour later as the Mater Dolorosa, and the human spider, a man in fleshings, who walked backwards on hands and feet, transformed into the Beloved Disciple; but the Brabant peasants seemed aware of no incongruity, and were as ready to weep at the crucifixion as they were to laugh at the dancing dogs. The peasant mind of the present day is constituted like that of their Mediæval forefathers, who insisted on the introduction of an element of grotesqueness into every tragedy and religious mystery.

This has been banished from the Ober-Ammergau performance in deference to the taste of Munich visitors; but it survives at Brixleg, where Judas hanging himself, and Malchus pulling his ear to ascertain whether it is fast fixed, elicit roars of laughter. In Mahlmann's tearful tragedy of "Herod before Bethlehem" there is a comic chorus of the children over lollipops scattered among them.

But it is in the Opera and the Oratorio that the most flourishing descendants of the old Mystery Plays are to be met with. It is in them that they have touched the ground and arisen with renewed strength. The sacred opera is not known to us in England: its less charming quaker sister, the Oratorio, is preferred. But in Germany, as we shall see presently, it long held its ground, and at the present day Méhul's "Joseph in Egypt" and Rubinstein's "Maccabeus," &c., are played wherever there is an operatic company.[2]

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[1] The English farce of that name translated into Flemish.

[2] In 1877, at Berlin, *Joseph* thrice, *The Maccabees* five times; at Hanover *Joseph* once, Cassel twice, Wiesbaden once, in the season.

At the end of the fifteenth century a new species of dramatic performance came into existence to dispute the ground with the Mystery. This was the school comedy, a nursling of the learned. The zeal with which, at this period, the Greek and Latin authors were studied led to the performance by scholars of the plays of Terence. Then the learned were seized with ambition to write Latin imitations of the classic authors, and to set their pupils to act them. But these performances were of little influence on the drama, except to emancipate it from the Church. The language was dead, the manners represented belonged to a dead civilisation —there was nothing in them to live or give life.

At the same time, in taverns and in the streets, strolling players, seldom more than three at a time, performed little farces of the meanest merit and most jejune wit. Hans Rosenblut, a master-singer, was renowned as a composer of such pieces. They were performed without stage or costume. Their representatives survive. Whilst writing this chapter, I saw a couple performed at a peasant's wedding near Klein-Laufenburg. One turned on the contrast between the new style of fashionable shoemaker and the old style of cobbler. The other was on the blunders made by a Swabian servant in the service of a baron. These simple plays were the first feeble beginnings of the secular drama. They appeared at the time when the schism between the people and the Church was beginning to show.

But Hans Sachs, the shoemaker of Nürnberg, gave the drama its new direction. "Hans Sachs," says Gervinus, "stands at the middle point between the old and the new art; he drew into his poetry history and the whole circle of science and common life, broke the bounds of nationality, and gave German poetry its characteristic stamp. He was a reformer in poetry as truly as was Luther in religion, and Hutten in politics." Sachs adapted to the stage alike the stories of the Old and New Testaments, from the Creation to the Redemption, the fables of antiquity, the legends of the Heldenbuch, the novels of Boccaccio, Greek tragedies, Roman comedies and the follies and crimes of his own time. In his sixty-nine carnival pieces, fifty-two secular comedies, twenty-eight secular tragedies, and fifty-two sacred tragedies and comedies, he broke down the partition which existed between the religious stage and the secular drama, and brought the theatre into sympathy with the citizen life of his period. Hans Sachs' plays show us dramatic art getting out of swaddling-clothes, nothing more. There is no attempt at delineation of character, none at producing effective situations. The comedy of the "Children of Eve" shows us the great simplicity of the cobbler-poet. The Almighty appears "like a condescending but stiff school inspector," says Tieck, and walks about attended by two angels, examining Adam's children in Luther's catechism. Eve has to take Cain to task for holding out his left to shake hands with God, and for forgetting to doff his cap on His first appearance. It was probably under the direction of Sachs that the first German theatre was erected at Nürnberg, in 1550, by the guild of the master-singers.[1] Augsburg followed the example of Nürnberg. These theatres were without roofs, but the stage was covered, and the patricians occupied chairs on the stage on each side—a right they claimed long after the whole house was covered in. These theatres, like those for the Mysteries, were without curtain. At the beginning of an act the performers entered, at the end they retired. The drama had not yet conceived the idea of beginning or closing in the midst of a situation.

Adam Puschmann, a pupil of Hans Sachs, also a shoemaker and master-singer, carried the Nürnberg art to Breslau. He wrote a great comedy of "Joseph and his Brothers" with valuable stage directions. He particularly urges that all the properties and costumes be got together before the beginning of a performance. The brothers of Joseph are to have coats of one sort, hats and shepherds' staves, Jacob a long grey beard, the angel yellow frizzled hair and a gilt nimbus. Pharaoh must wear royal robes "and a beautiful royal beard," Joseph a slashed and puffed dress, parti-red.

At this time, as in the Middle Ages, women were not tolerated on the stage, and the female parts were enacted by boys. Charles V., in an enactment on stage dress, excluded women from appearing on the boards. Philip II. strictly prohibited female performer but with the introduction of the opera, they became a necessity. The Reformers laid eager hold of the drama, as a lively means of popularising their attacks on Rome. Not only rectors of colleges and professors of universities, but village pastors and superintendents of dioceses, rivalled each other in the composition of pieces for the stage. But it was not only for polemic purposes that they courted Melpomene; they felt that by making a clean sweep of the old religious services of the Church, they had lost one great means of impressing on the minds of the people the great story of Redemption, carried out in the ecclesiastical ritual of the Christian year in a dramatic but educative manner. They therefore sought to make the stage do for them what Catholic ritual had effected before. The result was that with the Reformation came a great revival of the religious play, and that till the middle of the eighteenth century the Evangelical clergy of Germany encouraged, wrote for, and applauded the stage, and only broke with it when it refused to become the humble hand-maid of the Protestant Church.

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[1] In France the first was erected by the Brothers of the Passion in the village of S. Maur, near Vincennes, in 1398. In Italy, the old amphitheatres were used. The Brothers of the Passion "del gonfalone," since 1264 when founded, performed annually in the Colosseum. The first wooden theatre erected in London was in 1576.

Luther was the first to stand forth as the champion of the stage against those sterner spirits, who doubted the propriety of setting boys to act in the questionable plays of Terence. "Christians," he said, "must not shun comedies because in them there are some foul indecencies and licentious performances, for on account of these we might forbid them also reading the Bible. Therefore it is not well that a Christian should avoid reading or acting in such comedies, just because they contain these sort of things."

"John Huss at Constance" was a stock polemic piece among the Lutherans. The contrast between Christ and Antichrist, in a series of scenes, as represented in the woodcuts adorning the "Memorabilia" of Wolfius, was put on the boards. Such a series had great influence in deciding the people of Berne to adopt the Reformation.[1]

The Rector Kielmann of Stettin composed a comedy on Tetzel's sale of Indulgences. "Lutherus Redivivus," "Curriculum Vitæ Lutheri," "The Calvinist Postboy," were the titles of other controversial comedies. Paul Rebhun, pastor of Oelmitz, afterwards superintendent of Voigtsberg, wrote a "spiritual play of the chaste Susanna," in five acts, with chorus, after the Mediæval pattern. "Saul and David," in five acts, occupying two days, with 100 actors and 500 walking characters, was performed in 1571 at Gabel. The deacon, Eriginger, wrote a great play of the Rich Man and poor Lazarus. In this the *dramatis personæ* are divided into three lots (*Haufen*). To the first lot belong: the actor, *i.e.* the director, who recites the prologue to each act, and is also stage-manager; the argumentator, a boy who points the moral of each act; the conclusor, who speaks the epilogue; also the Almighty, the angel who takes the soul of Lazarus, Abraham; trusty Eckehardt, adopted into the sacred play from popular mythology;[1] Solicitus, a poor artisan; Lazarus; two travelling students; a hospital servant collecting subscriptions; Master Hans, a tailor; the soul of Lazarus represented by a pretty little boy in a white shirt.

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[1] By Nicolas Manuel. His pieces were as offensive to decency as they were polemical.

To the second lot belong: Nabal, the rich man; his wife Sarkophilia; his five brethren; Convivia, a guest; Syrus, Dromo, and Davus, servants; a head cook and scullion, a huntsman, fisherman, butler, jester, drummers and pipers, and chambermaids.

To the third lot belong: Temporal Death and Eternal Death; Satan and six hideous devils; the soul of Nabal, a little boy blackened with charcoal and in a black shirt.

"It was in the bosom of the Reformation," says Devrient, "that the drama first obtained an independent life, which gradually unfolded. And the course of the history of the stage shows that all progress in dramatic art was effected in Protestant lands, by Protestant authors, and by Protestant actors."

I shall speak in another chapter of the German opera, but, as I am on the subject of sacred dramas, I cannot break what I have to say upon it into two portions. The true descendant of the old Mystery Play is found in the sacred Opera and Oratorio. That I have already stated. But what I may now add is, that these are the forms it has assumed in the nursing arms of Protestantism. The old Mystery Play remains scarce altered in Catholic lands, in Austria and Bavaria, but in the Protestant North it has become a cultured child of civilisation.

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[1] Trusty Eckehardt in the popular myth watches the gates of the Venusberg, and warns off those who approach the underground palace of the goddess of Love

In 1678 a musical drama was performed, entitled ' Man's Creation, Fall, and Restoration," the words by Gerhardt Schott, the music by Thiel. The old threefold form of stage was preserved with this improvement (?), that Heaven, with the Trinity enthroned in it, was let down and hauled up as required. The introduction represented Chaos and the Fall of the Angels. The Creator descends "on the great machine," and begins to make Man. Lucifer on the lowest stage, addressing his devils as "Messieurs!" exhorts them to effect the ruin of the new creation. It is unnecessary to follow the opera further. In the same year was enacted, before the court at Dresden, "The Patriarch Jacob and his Sons," lasting three days, and winding up with "a ballet of the Sons of Israel." In the *répertoire* of the Hamburg Opera-House during the seventeenth century we find the "Bloody Spectacle of Jesus tortured and crucified for our Sins." And before the Saxon court was repeatedly played "The Dying Jesus" by Dedekind. How little these compositions did justice to their subject may be judged from an instance from the last. When Judas sings his farewell to earth, the Devil sings echo; and when he bursts asunder, Satan collects the bowels in a basket, trolling forth an appropriate air.

In 1688 at Hamburg was performed "The Revenge of the Gibeonites," after 2 Sam. xxi. and Joshua ix. On another day in the same year, "The sacred drama of Adam and Eve, followed by the merry farce of Pickelherring in a Box." At Hamburg, in 1702, widow Velthen's company produced "The ascent of Elijah and the stoning of Naboth, followed by Pickelherring and the Schoolmaster, or the bacon thief taken in." In 1734 at Hamburg was enacted "The whole history of Samson, the Israelitish Hercules," winding up with a ballet of Jews, Philistines, Delilah and Samson. In the "Birth of Christ," an opera performed at Hamburg in 1681, in addition to the personages of the sacred story, appeared Apollo, the Pythoness, and his priests, bewailing the fall of the old gods of Olympus.

In Catholic countries the martyrdom of saints remained a favourite subject for dramatic representation. A traveller in 1790 gives the following account of one such:—"The parish of Ambras announced on a large placard its intention of entertaining and edifying the public, on July 25, with a performance of a tragedy, 'The youthful martyr St. Pancras,' to begin at half-past one in the afternoon, and to last till six in the evening. Though this was the tenth performance, there was quite a pilgrimage of Innsbrückers to Ambras on that sweltering afternoon. The theatre was a solid wooden erection near a tavern, with a plot of grass before it. The three entrances were guarded by peasants with halberts. Seats in shade cost six kreuzers. The stage was much raised and was long. It had two side curtains, and between them the principal curtain, and these were drawn up turn and turn about with the central curtain. Over the proscenium sprawled a wooden angel, from whose consecrated lips issued in golden vapour the words 'The Life and Death of the Blessed Pancras.' In Greek fashion the prologue was sung by a chorus, in which the Good Shepherd, brandishing his crook, denounced the evil days in doggerel. In the play appeared, not only angels and devils, but also the Pope, who, when not wanted on the stage, sat in the pit *in pontificalibus*, looking on with the spectators. For next Sunday 'The Devil on two Sticks' was announced." The traveller goes on to relate that in other villages near Innsbrück, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Sebastian were being performed, and he was assured that these pieces possessed superior attractions to that of St. Pancras, inasmuch as more devils appeared in them.[1] Precisely the same plays are enacted to this day in Tyrol, the Bavarian Alps, the Black Forest, and elsewhere. On the very day that this was written, I saw a poster at Waldshut announcing that on Sunday, April 7, 1878, the legend of St. Christopher would be given by a religious club, representing the Saint in his service to Satan, his conversion, his carrying Christ over the water, and his martyrdom, in four acts.

Throughout the seventeenth century wandering bands of actors performed in the towns of Germany. They bore the title of "English comedians." Perhaps the first company may have been composed of English players,[2] but if so, their successors were certainly German, though they designated themselves as English. They were the first professionals in Germany.

[1] See Pichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol.* Innsbrück, 1850.

[2] Now it is our proud prerogative to provide the Continent with clowns. In 1876, I saw English clowns at the Théâtre S. Hubert in Brussels, in a circus at Liége, in another at Constance; in 1878, at Strassburg. I have met them as well at Mainz. They may be found also in the Prater at Vienna.

In 1605, Duke Julius of Brandenburg appointed court actors. In 1611, the Saxon ambassador at the court of Hesse-Cassel saw performed the "'Comedy of Tarquin and Lucretia' in a pretty theatre built in the Roman style, and capable of holding a thousand spectators.' In 1626, Hans Schelling, director of one of these bands, obtained a patent from the Elector John George of Saxony to perform in his Principality. The patent was continued to his son-in-law Lengsfeld.

From these companies the theatrical profession in Germany dates its origin.

Let us see what was their *répertoire.* Jacob Ayrer of Nürnberg was the chief dramatic composer after Hans Sachs. Sixty-six of his pieces were published after his death in 1618. They manifest some advance in power of treatment and grouping, but that is all. In Hans Sachs there was the coarseness of a simple age; in Ayrer there is brutal indecency, to suit a savage and sensual taste.

In 1624 appeared in print the first collection of pieces performed by the errant troupes. It was entitled: "English Comedies and Tragedies: that is, very Beautiful, Choice, and Excellent Sacred and Secular Comedies and Tragedies, together with Pickelherring. These, on account of their moral purport and adhesion to history, have been well received by Royal, Electoral, and Princely Courts, as also by the Free Imperial and Hanseatic Cities, where they have been enacted by English Players. Now first printed for edification and entertainment."

This curious volume lets us see what was the state of the public taste when the Thirty Years' war burst over the nation.

Among the plays the favourite was probably "Titus Andronicus," a seven-act tragedy, which was so popular in England that it was recast again and again till Shakspeare gave it its definite form. From his redaction we know that it is a story full of horrors, much more calculated to excite disgust and repulsion than to serve for "edification and entertainment." But in the version given by the "English players" in Germany all the horrors were produced with dull coarseness, the speeches are without brilliancy —all is stupid and brutal and bloody. At the close of the fourth act, when Titus has in his power the sons of the Empress, who had disgraced his daughter, and cut off her hands and tongue lest she should be able to write or speak the name of the person who had ill-treated her, he exclaims: "Hallo, soldiers! come forward and hold these fellows firmly. Now, you murderous and dishonourable scoundrels, I have you in my power. Servants! bring me a sharp knife and a butcher's apron." When these properties are produced, Titus ties on him the apron. "Go and fetch me a basin. And do one of you hold this fellow's throat that I may slash it. And do you other hold the basin in which to catch his blood." The eldest brother is first led forward. Titus cuts his throat from ear to ear. The blood pours into the bowl. Then he lays him down, when all the blood has run out.[1] And he deals with the second brother in a similar manner. Titus goes on, "Now I have cut both their throats, and I have slaughtered them with my own hand, and I will cook them myself also. I will hack their heads into small junks, and bake them in pasties, and feast on them the Emperor and his mother, when I have invited them to me. Take up the bodies and carry them into the kitchen, where I may operate upon them appropriately."

Putting aside the disgust inspired by a horrible subject treated in this Raw-head and Bloody-bones style, one looks into the drama in hopes of finding some tokens of advance in dramatic composition, some improvement in literary style on the crudities of Hans Sachs, and one looks in vain. The play is simply a story told in dialogue. It is the same with Esther and Haman, the Prodigal Son, Fortunatus, and the rest. They are strings of incidents calculated to amuse the public, but the Folks-drama is like the Folks-tale, a tissue of adventures without a thread of moral interest running through it. The actors are puppets, not men with characters and souls; there is no development of ideas, no modulation of character in them. The popular interest is excited by material horrors, not by spiritual sympathies. The speeches have their formulæ, "Now I will do this," and after an event, "Now this is done." Even the throat-cutting in Andronicus must be announced as about to take place, and declared to be accomplished, so little could the drama emancipate itself from the form of recitation of a tale, to which the enacted scenes were the illustrations.

Of horrors there must be a glut. Suicides take place in public, often the hero or villain in despair "dashes his head against the wall, so that blood bursts out,"—the stage direction adds, "to be managed with a bladder." In "King Montalor" a pair of lovers are beheaded on the stage with great effusion of blood, and when the king dies, the stage direction is, "Here they begin to fight, and when the king is cut across the head, it must be so arranged that blood is to spurt out." In the hanging scene in Esther, Haman exclaims, whilst the rope is round his neck, "How sweet is life! Death how bitter! World adieu!" whereupon Hans Knapküse, the clown, flings him off, cuts him down, and carries him out.

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[1] The stage directions for all this are very explicit.

It will perhaps be hardly believed that spectacles equally disgusting should still attract and delight crowds. But such is the case. In 1876 I was at Ulm at the Kermesse. In front of the Liebfrau-Kirche was a huge booth, in which a grand execution by guillotine proved an unfailing attraction every evening. The person to be beheaded was laid on a sort of trough, and run under the guillotine: a crimson silk cap was placed over the head. The cord was cut, and down came the axe, apparently severing the head from the trunk. The executioner held up the head, from which blood flowed into a large metal soup-plate. He borrowed a handkerchief from a lady in the reserved seats, and sopped it with the blood spurting from the severed arteries in the stump. Then he placed the head on a table, and drew up the cap to expose the face. Of course the putting on of the head followed. But the feature of the performance which most struck me—sickened by the revolting spectacle—was the placidity and even pleasure with which it was viewed by ladies, and bürger and bauer women of Ulm and its neighbourhood. A Yorkshire friend, sitting by me, exclaimed, "Why, if this had been exhibited at Wakefield, we should have had the women shrieking and fainting!" and I have no doubt that such would have been the effect produced by the exhibition in any part of England.

But to return to the "English comedies" published in 1624. The obscenity of these pieces printed "with moral purpose" is as offensive as their brutality. "However unrefined we may imagine the age to have been," says Devrient, "it seems to us inconceivable how women and girls could have sat out the scenes of boundless indecency and unveiled licentiousness in which Pickelhorring or Hans Wurst is the chief actor. Their shameless foulness of word and act surpasses all belief."

About the year 1683 a German band of strolling players was organised by Master Johann Velthen of Halle, which speedily acquired great fame, and which revolutionised the stage.

Velthen introduced dramatic life and personality into his pieces and personages, but at a great cost. Hitherto the actors had been puppets reciting a story they had acquired by heart. To identify the actor with his part was Velthen's object, and the only way of doing this was, he supposed, to emancipate him from the text and throw him on his own resources. He cast aside the manuscript, sketched to his company the outline of the plot, arranged the order of the scenes and the principal situations, and left them to work the story out in their own way, by their own wit, improvising to suit every occasion. For the first time the actor was taught to enter into his part, live in it, think in it, speak and act in it, instead of strutting and declaiming it. The fashion spread and became universal. But success was not also always universal. Velthen's plan answered when all the company consisted of men of talent, but one or two inferior actors had it in their power to mar a whole play, to discomfit the rest, and so entangle the plot as to make it inextricable.

There were further disadvantages in Velthen's venture. The whole generation of actors that grew up under him acquired a radical contempt for the text, and their memories were uncultivated, so that it became with them an impossibility to accurately read up a part. And a still more serious disadvantage was this—Velthen had cut the drama adrift from literature. No writer of ability would compose for the stage when the actors refused to be bound by his text.

John George III. of Saxony, in 1685, erected the first German court theatre at Dresden, and installed in it Velthen and his troupe with fixed salary. Velthen received annually 200 thalers, his wife the same sum, his sister 100 thalers, the other actors received from 150 to 1[illegible]0 thalers a year. The pay was poor. In 1687 the first Italian singers at the opera received 1,500 thalers; but it was a beginning, a first recognition of the drama by the court. It was more: it was the first recognition of women as actresses. Hitherto female parts had been performed by boys. But the opera had broken through prejudice and admitted women on the boards. But even in the opera it was not everywhere that women were tolerated. At the court of Charles VI., at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the opera was under the direction of Metastasio, and the carrying out of one opera cost 60,000 florins, the female parts were taken by eunuchs. Velthen, who introduced improvisation, brought also women on the stage. There were five in his company, his wife, her sister, the wives of two of the actors, and a lady of gentle birth, Sara von Boxberg.

On the death of John George III., the court theatre was broken up, and the Saxon Electoral House abandoned the protectorship of the German drama. Velthen's troupe recommenced its wanderings. Velthen died at Hamburg in 1692, and his company dissolved.

Velthen had lived long enough to find that the wide latitude he had allowed his actors did not answer, that genius was not always ready to respond to a sudden summons, and that tragedies trusted to improvisation had an unhappy knack of converting themselves in the course of performance into extravaganza or burlesque. Actors at a loss for words beat about their hands and howled, ranting took the place of acting, and empty vociferation of connected declamation. He was therefore obliged to introduce more and more of matter to be committed to memory. And what was this répertoire? A curious MS. collection of pieces of this period exists at Vienna. Among them are "Perseus and Andromeda;" "Phæton;" "Medea and Harlequin;" "The Wisdom of Solomon;" "Eginhardt and Emma;" "Romeo and Juliet;" "The Earl of Essex;" "Charles XII. at Friedrichshall;" "The Loving Stepmother, Ormunda;" "Ardelinda, the Female Hero," etc. The plots were derived from foreign sources, but the plays were no servile translations. "Medea and Harlequin" was based on the tragedy of Euripides, but oh, what a falling off is here! Medea is wroth chiefly because Creon will not admit her to his court. A soldier who bars her way she transforms into a pillar, another into a tree, the palace into a wilderness. There is no lack of enchantments, flying chariots and fire-breathing dragons. Harlequin, who is an attendant on Jason, threatens Medea with a pistol, and is transformed by her into a nightstool.

Charles XII. before Friedrichshall comes on announcing his pedigree and position. "Mighty disposer of the unbounded earth! who am I? Lord, thy servant. Yet allow me to state my lineage. Charles XI., the son of Charles Gustavus, to whom the Swedish throne was ceded by the renowned Queen Christina, was my father, and my *mama* was Ulrica Eleanora, daughter of the king of Denmark, who married Sophia Amelia, a princess of Brunswick Lüneberg; and the said Ulrica Eleanora had issue on June 19, in the year of Grace 1682, between seven and eight in the morning, to the universal joy of the Swedish realm—Me!"

Velthen's company had broken up. One of his company obtained the degree of Doctor at Vienna for his proficiency in chemistry, another became Rector at Riga. But the widow did her best to keep a troupe together. She had not the abilities of her husband, and though she continued to play sacred dramas and tragedies, her stage was all but monopolised by buffoonery.

One of Velthen's company, Elenson, died in 1708, as court actor to the Duke of Mecklenburg. He was so admired by the Elector of Köln, that on his death the archbishop commemorated the merits of the actor and his own wit on a marble monument at Langenschwalbach:—

Hic jacet et tacet qui stabat et clamabat.
Ludens Comœdiam finit Tragœdiam.
Viator, ora et labora
Ut ultima hora sit tibi Aurora.
Julius Franciscus Elensen
Prinsipal Hochfürstlich Mecklenburgischer Hofcomödiant.
SanCte ChrIste Dona eI reqVIeM (MDCCVIII.).

Elenson's widow, a handsome broombinder's daughter, continued the troupe, married the harlequin Haak, and on the coronation of Charles VI. at Frankfurt in 1711, entered into competition with widow Velthen, beat her, and forced her to leave the town.

In Berlin, the Elector Frederick III., first King of Prussia, held the actors in high esteem, and attended German plays as well as the Italian Opera and the French theatre. But Frederick would not tolerate excessive burlesque. In 1692, when the "Prodigal Son" was being acted before him, and Hans Wurst began his low buffoonery with some saints and devils, the King rose and left the theatre with his suite.

The close-fisted Frederick William I. put down the Italian Opera and French theatre, but favoured the German stage, which exhibited tight-rope dancing, tumbling, and pantomime. He hated everything French, and ordered an eminently anti-Gallic piece, "The Marquis dismissed with Blows," to be frequently enacted. From the "Mémoires of the Margravine of Baireuth" we learn how intolerably tedious and tasteless such performances were to those of the court who had received French education. Lady Montagu was present at a play in the Court Theatre at Vienna in 1716. It was on the fable of Amphitryon, burlesqued. It opened with Jupiter falling to earth out of a cloud, and ended with the birth of Hercules. Jupiter was the wag of the piece; he defrauded a banker of his money, a tailor of a suit of clothes, and a Jew of a diamond ring. Lady Montagu says that the play was so charged with vulgarities and indelicacies that it would not have been tolerated at an English fair, whereas the coarsest jokes drew applause from the boxes, and the whole piece was regarded by all parties as a masterpiece.

We can form some idea of the degradation to which the stage had fallen when we look at the tariff of payments made to performers of the Court Theatre at Vienna under Maria Theresa, about 1750. This was the scale of payments :—

		Fl.	Kr.
For every	flight into the air	1	0
„	jump into the water	1	0
„	„ over a wall or down a rock	1	0
„	transformation	1	0
„	cudgelling (passive)		34
„	box in the ear or kick		34

When cudgelling, kick, or clout was returned, no charge could be made; the gratification of repaying it cancelled the claim.

		Kr.
For every	bruise received	34
„	sousing with water	34
„	sword fight, each combatant	34

On Saturday the actor brought his bill to the Imperial cashier. Some of these have been preserved. Here is a specimen :—

		Fl.	Kr.
This week	6 airs sung	6	0
„	1 flight into the air	1	0
„	1 plunge into water	1	0
„	1 sousing with water		34
„	received 2 cuffs on the ear	1	8
„	1 kick		34
	Total	9	76

Received with profound gratitude,

J. H.

When Molière was blamed for having allowed himself to receive a blow when acting the part of Sganarelle, he answered, "It was not I, but Sganarelle, who was struck," but here each actor eagerly claimed the insult, and demanded nothing better than to be kicked and cuffed and cudgelled, as it raised the total of his receipts on Saturday.

Our Christmas Pantomimes, and the representations at a circus of "The Tailor of Brentwood," etc., are sole relics among us of a type of performance which never obtained complete possession of the English stage, but which reigned absolutely in Germany. The clown was an essential element. He went by many names, Hans Wurst (our Jack Pudding), Pickelherring, Jampatsch; the Italian Harlequin, Pantaloon, Leander and Columbine were added, and the attractions of the play consisted in marvellous transformations and broad jests. In a favourite piece, "Spirito folletto," oranges on trees changed into letters, a bottle yielded alternately red and white wine, out of a pasty bloomed a sunflower, and the flower when cut off resolved itself into a lady's head.

No play, however sacred or tragic, was tolerated without Hans Wurst to enliven it. In the most blood-curdling scenes, the clown in one corner was diverting the attention of the audience by his buffooneries.

The stage had shaken itself free from the Reformed Church; and the clergy changed their estimate of it. In England, the Parliament, in 1642, forbade theatrical performances. But German Protestantism was not Puritanical. The first system of moral theology drawn up for the Lutheran Church by Johann Conrad Dürr in 1662 is the first to give a just estimate of the dramatic art. St. Thomas Aquinas had pronounced the profession of an actor as not in itself sinful, Dürr proclaims it noble. He is not a negative, but a positive approval. He declares that the profession is lawful, as the actor is employing a natural, divine-given talent for a useful and praiseworthy purpose,—the representation of men's manners and fortunes, the expression of the beauty of virtue and the hatefulness of vice. The stage is a great moral educator, it is in its way as sacred as the pulpit. It is even more effective as a teacher, and may be as useful to society. The drama is lawful as long as it holds to this ideal, it is only unlawful when it panders to low tastes and vulgar passions. Dürr goes on to say that an actor's professional training is calculated to do him good morally and mentally. His memory is educated, his manners refined, a polish is given to his thoughts, his speech, his intercourse with others.

But the vagabond bands of "English Comedians" had taken the stage out of control. It was different when pieces were performed by the guild of master-singers or the pupils of a school. Now the actors appealed to the vulgar, and were unscrupulous what they provided so long as spectators were brought to their booths, and they could reap a harvest of groschen. "Go on, boy," says the puppet player in Don Quixote, "and let folk talk, for so I fill my bag, I care not if I represent more improprieties than there are motes in the sun." As long as the strollers were men and boys, the magistrates were tolerant of their extravagances, but when women associated themselves with them, and appeared on the boards, the councils of the various towns forbade their reception into the houses of the bürgers. They became a sort of outlaws, living only in taverns, and forbidden association with the respectable classes. This did not tend to their elevation. It is curious that the first direct attack against them on the part of the clergy was made in Hamburg, in the town in which several of the pastors, Riest, Johann Koch, Johannsen, and Elmenhorst, had written for the stage. Anton Reiser, Pfarrer of St. Jacob, wrote against the opera in 1681. Thereupon Pastor Winkler composed a treatise in its defence. In 1688, Pastor Elmenhorst, himself a dramatic writer, published his "Dramatologia antiquo-hodierna," in vindication of the stage. In 1693 the theological faculties of the Lutheran universities of Rostock and Wittenberg decided that operas on Biblical subjects were not objectionable, and that the Lord's Supper was not to be denied to actors in them. But when Velthen was dying, a Hamburg pastor refused to give him the Sacrament. In Berlin, under the influence of the pious but prejudiced Spener, some pastors rejected actors from the communion table, but the Elector, Frederic V., as their spiritual head, being a great friend of the stage, read them a sharp lecture and ordered them at once to give the Sacrament to the players. King Frederick I. gave open token of his respect for the profession by standing sponsor along with his Queen at the font to the daughter of the actor Uslenzki, in the very church of which Spener was provost.

A still more decided step was taken in 1745 by Frederick II.

At the instigation of the Pastor Frank, the university of Halle requested that a company of actors might not be allowed to perform in the town. The King wrote peremptorily, "Enough of this pack of bigots (*Muckerpack*). The actors shall perform, and Herr Frank, or whatever the rogue (*Schurke*) calls himself, shall assist at the entertainment, to make open reparation before the students for his foolish remonstrance. And an attestation to this effect shall be sent me, that I may be satisfied that he has been present."

When dramatic art was at its last gasp, a pedant and a woman were its saviours.

Frederica Caroline Weissenborn was the daughter of a practising solicitor at Zwickau. She was born in 1692 at Reichenbach. Her father was a widower, harsh, pragmatical, and gouty. He little understood the character of his child. We know nothing of her youth, of how the artistic faculties of her soul were quickened and fed. She suddenly comes before us at the age of twenty-six, when, to escape a beating from her father, she jumped out of a window, and was only saved from death by falling into a hedge. She never returned home, but fled to Weissenfels with a young man named Johann Neuber, who was warmly attached to her. At Weissenfels they were married, and there joined a strolling band of players under Spielberg, a disciple of Velthen. Neuber was never other than a third-rate actor, but he was an intelligent and true-hearted man. When Caroline Weissenborn married him, she acquired an indefatigable assistant and a devoted husband. But the genius of the Neuberinn, her higher culture, her inexhaustible energy of character, distinguished her above all her associates. Her husband shines with but a reflected light. The Neubers soon left Spielberg and joined the troupe of the widow Elenson, now married to a third husband, Hoffmann, and associated with the best actors of the period. Whilst the company were at Dresden, Hanover, and Brunswick, Frau Neuber took the opportunity to attend French plays. Her cultivated taste told her at once how vastly superior they were to the sad rubbish performed on the German stage; and she was the first to perceive the advantages of Alexandrine verses for tragic declamation. She played in "Roderic" and "Ximenes," adapted from Corneille, and in the "Regulus" of Pradon. At the same time she showed great comic liveliness, and acted frequently dressed in men's clothes. A strange transformation in ideas! Fifty years had not elapsed since female parts were acted by boys, and now it was *haut goût* for women to take the parts of boys.

When the widow Elenson died, the Brunswick court gave the Neubers the management of the theatre there. They brought out "Regulus," "Brutus," "Alexander," and the "Cid." The applause these adaptations received encouraged the daring woman in her resolution to devote her life to the regeneration of the drama. For this purpose she organised a company of her own, after her own heart—elect spirits from widow Elenson's band, and disciples trained by herself. With this troupe she came to Leipzig for the great Easter fair in 1727. There she met a man whose ambition and passion was the development of the German language and poetry—a man who had long chafed at the unworthiness of the stage in his own land. The ambition of one inflamed the enthusiasm of the other. The Neuberinn promised to do her utmost to give back to the stage its dignity, and purge it of the blood and filth which stained it, if she were seconded by literary men who should restock her répertoire. Gottsched, this Leipzig pedant, obtained for her a concession to play in Saxony, and thenceforth, for ten years, Leipzig was the centre from which the Neubers made their excursions to Dresden, Brunswick, Hanover, Hamburg, and Nürnberg. Gottsched was not a poet, or a man of original conceptions. He was not calculated to be the Shakspeare of the German drama. The utmost he could do was to translate, and recast old material. As he and the Neuberinn worked together, their ideas expanded, and their enthusiasm was shared by other members of the company. The task they had undertaken was not light. Gottsched desired a total revolution. The plots of the old plays were regardless of time and space. They had to be subjected to the rule of Aristotle, and brought to a treble unity of scene, period, and treatment. Proportion must be introduced into the lively medley of dialogue and song, of tragedy and burlesque. Improvisation must be given up. The dialogue must be cast into rhyme, and move with stately swing. The Neuberinn was herself a ready extemporiser, and had an untrained memory. To the end of her days she found unusual difficulty in learning her parts correctly. Her companions had been brought up under Velthen's lax method, and found it hard to abandon improvisation and chain themselves to a text. But, nevertheless, Frau Neuber carried out exactly what she had undertaken. She was satisfied that Gottsched was right, and followed his direction with alacrity.

The artistic association of Gottsched and the Neuberinn is one of the most weighty and eventful moments in the history of the development of the German drama. Now once more literature was called to aid; the schism between the stage and poetry was healed. The Neuberinn held out her hand across the gulf, with humility, and cried to the literary world to come to her assistance.

Frau Neuber was by nature chosen to carry out her undertaking. Keen-sighted, daring to defiance, energetic to violence, active to restlessness, persistent to stubbornness, she was far removed from greed of gain or craving for applause. She lived for an ideal, and to that ideal she was ready to sacrifice everything. She had the good fortune to associate with her men of no ordinary talent, the most remarkable of whom was Koch, a clever actor and scene-painter. It was not only the elevation of the drama that this remarkable woman sought, she sought also to recover for her profession the respect it had forfeited. And that this might be regained, the members must learn to respect themselves. Like a practical woman, she began her reformation with the members of the troupe under her own hand. She insisted on frequent and careful rehearsals, the more necessary, as under Velthen's system rehearsals had fallen into disuse. She brought order and respectability into the company arrangements. The unmarried actresses lived with her, they became her adopted daughters. She cared for, watched and directed them, as though they were her own children. The unmarried actors dined at her table. And this arrangement, which she first instituted, survives to the present day among the strolling companies in Germany. Her plan was economical, but it was not for economy that she adopted it; it was because she was determined to emancipate her profession from public-house haunting, and to bring about community life in the company. She tolerated no idle flirtations; if an actor and actress appeared attached, she watched them with Argus eye, and unless there was an engagement, put a stop to the matter peremptorily. The women worked with scissors and needles at the costumes, the men at scene-painting, copying the parts, or organising the mechanism.

By degrees a sort of family life grew up in the company, in which each followed his special avocation, and all felt an interest in one another. In a word, this patriarchal life of the band, encouraged by bürger exclusiveness, which refused the player access to their houses, became the nursery from which the modern German profession has grown, and conquered the respect of noble and bürger alike. The répertoire was next overhauled. It took a long time to get up the Alexandrine tragedies, and even when the difficulty of learning them was overcome, the Neuberinn found that the public, accustomed to burlesque and blood-curdling horrors, had no taste for classic compositions.

It was in Hamburg, in 1730, that she ventured on the first production of the tragedies. "The verses please," she wrote to Gottsched, "but there are complaints made of their obscurity. One must have patience: with time taste will grow." She found it necessary to tack a farce on the tail of a tragedy, and play burlesques on alternate nights to attract and fill her house.

Next year at Hamburg, her hopes seemed likely to be realised. She wrote, "Our comedies and tragedies are tolerably well attended. The trouble we have taken to improve taste has not been quite thrown away. I find here various converted hearts. Persons whom I had least expected, have become lovers of poetry, and there are many who appreciate our orderly artistic plays."

From Hanover the Neuberinn wrote: "Here I have found better appreciation of German tragedies than might have been anticipated. During the last few years, there have been many comedians here, amongst them the renowned harlequin Müller. These gave the Hanoverians such a glut, that at first the people came only in driblets to our performances. But when we began our metrical comedies and drew on our new costumes, matters mended. The Geheimräthe were the first to appear, and as they were pleased, the nobility and gentry followed, and now every one comes to see the novelty. But the general public, fed on the unwholesome diet provided by former comedians, do not take to our performances, which are ungarnished with indelicacies."

From Nürnberg, in 1731, Neuber wrote: "As we play only twice a week, and the bad weather may spoil an evening, I have waited some time before writing, so that I might have leisure to ascertain whether the people here are to be won to a taste for our plays. At first no one would hear of a comedy all in verse. But now the patricians are, I trust, won. Our first piece was "Cinna," and fortunately the translator, Herr von Führer, was one of the audience; and as he is castellan and principal councillor, and lives up at the Castle, his word goes for much. This patriot has done wonders for us by his applause, and the Nürnbergers show a decided inclination to favour the Leipzig verses. But what distresses me most is that we have not enough pieces of the sort."

This was precisely the great difficulty. This was the burden of every letter. Whatever pains Gottsched took to translate and adapt, the results were small. As written, the plays were sent to the Neubers, act by act, and committed to memory. From not having enough new comedies and tragedies, the Neubers were obliged to fall back on the old stock, but they recast the plays, cut out what was unsuitable, improved the dialogue, and ruthlessly removed every allusion offensive to delicacy. How small was the result of the literary labours of Gottsched and his fellow-workers may be judged from the fact that the Neubers had only twenty-seven of the new plays in their répertoire between 1727 and 1740. Of these, fifteen were translations, the rest rearrangements. The Neuberinn herself took pen in hand, and wrote comedies, farces, and preludes. Lessing says of her compositions, "One must be very prejudiced not to allow this famous actress a thorough knowledge of her art. She had masculine penetration, and in one point only did she betray her sex—she delighted in trifles. All plays of her composition are full of disguises and pageants, wondrous and glittering. But, after all, she may have known the hearts of the Leipzig bürgers, and put these in, from a desire to please them, as flies are caught with treacle."

"Frau Neuber took great pains to have good costumes, and went as far as her means allowed her in making them rich and suitable. She would have no tinsel, and crowns and armour of gilt paper. By a stroke of policy in 1728 she began her performances at Leipzig with the "Regulus" of Bressand, translated by von König, master of ceremonies at Dresden. Von König, to help out his poor translation, sent her the requisite costume from the royal garde-robe. The magnificence with which she was able to put the "Regulus" on the stage, and the report carefully circulated by Gottsched that the court was interested in the Neuberinn's reform, caused the house to be crowded, and attracted attention to her undertaking. Otherwise costume followed the received tradition. The three classes of Rome, Turk, and modern costume were retained, but the two first were poorly represented, and eked out from the third. The powdered coiffure and hoop-petticoats with women, knee-breeches and buckle-shoes for men, were *de rigueur* at least for the chief personages, and Kohlhardt appeared alike as Cato and as King of Cockayne with powdered wig, ruffles, and a three-cornered hat. Attitude was not natural any more than were the speeches. The body was bent in graceful postures: only one foot was allowed to rest on the ground, the other was poised on the toe: the arms were bowed in studied curves; there was much of "Ah!" and "Oh!" of turgid rhapsody and tedious soliloquy. But a great stride had been taken; the stage had acquired dignity, the drama had been lifted from the dust, brutality was exchanged for *baroque*, indecency for high-flown courtesy.

Gottsched's services deserve recognition as well as those of Frau Neuber. He reduced the chaos of dramatic composition to order, and divided the elements and set each its proper place. His stiff-necked determination to subject the drama to the rules of beauty and proportion, as he understood them, was as invaluable as the perseverance and self-devotion of Frau Neuber in carrying out his theories. He had the literary power and dogged resolution to lay down his theories as irrefragable laws; his diplomatic cleverness acquired for him an artistic dictatorship in literary circles, and none belonging to polite society dared to dissent from his views. His influence engaged writers of talent in the service of the stage. All poetry in a dramatic form that appeared till 1750 issued from Gottsched's school at Leipzig. He brought Elias Schlegel's youthful productions into notice. His exhortations inspired Geilert to write dramas, and Gellert was the first to bring the genuine German tone back to the dramatic art. It is true that Gottsched was a representative of *baroque* formalism, that his reform was along false lines, in the direction of affectation, not of nature; but it was a reform in the interests of civilisation.

But, when all is said for Gottsched, the largest measure of our gratitude and respect remains to be meted to Frau Neuber. It cost Gottsched nothing to start his theories, but on her fell the labour and risk of carrying them into execution. It was her purse which suffered, her popularity which was affected. It was she who fought the battle and received the blows, whilst Gottsched directed from the safe and serene heights of his library. She lived on the people, her bread was dependent on their favour, and yet she had to take from them what they most prized and give them that for which they had no appreciation. Every sacrifice she made of the foolish, bloody, and obscene—of what was popular—cost her money and the favour of the people. She knew it; she was well aware that she might have doubled her receipts by stooping to please low tastes, but she was too noble, too conscientious, too true, ever to sacrifice what was right to sordid interest.

In 1731 the Neubers wrote to Gottsched from Nürnberg:—"Probably we should have earned many more thalers if we had played only the tasteless fashionable pieces. But now that we have undertaken what is good, we will not forsake the path so long as we have a penny. Good must continue good."

In 1733 the privilege of the Neubers to play in Saxony expired, and the King, instead of renewing it, made it over to the harlequin Müller and his band. In vain did the Neubers remonstrate, and offer to give to Müller exclusive right to play all burlesques. "Our efforts," they wrote, "have been incessant to subject all our representations to the strictest morality, to avoid vapid foolishness and indelicate double-entendres. Our aim has consistently been to educate and raise the taste of the masses, and not to make the stage a means of evoking the immoderate laughter of the vulgar." It was all in vain. The Neubers and their troupe were turned out of the theatre in Leipzig to make way for harlequin Hans Wurst and the blood and filth from which they had washed it.[1]

The Neubers went from town to town, meeting with some support, but with a thousand contrarieties, attacks from friends of the old style, the indifference of the public, and with consequent deficiency of means. They found one protector, Duke Charles Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1736 he gave the Neubers a patent as court actors, and an annual subsidy of 1,000 thalers. So great, indeed, was his liking for their performances, that on more than one occasion he appeared with the company on their boards. But the Ducal subsidy could not keep them wholly above water. In May 1736, Neuber wrote from Lübeck:—"We must be content to carry on our undertaking as best we may, and that is poorly. Every one must see that we would gladly do good if we were able, and that it is only shortness of means which impedes us. But it cannot be helped; we do our utmost, and wait on time and luck."

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[1] Smollet, in *Peregrine Pickle*, describes a performance in the theatre at Amsterdam, where the jests of Harlequin or Pickelherring were of the grossest nature. These obscenities, when banished Germany, took refuge in Holland.

But luck did not come; and as it proved unpropitious, the Neubers became the more stubborn. Urged on by Gottsched, they resolved by an open manifestation to show their irrevocable breach with pantomime. Gottsched was impatient because improvisation was not wholly abolished. The root of the evil lay in harlequin, that merry-andrew whose jokes tickled the multitude, and whom they regarded as an essential element in every play. He appeared in the sacred drama and in the tragedy; no moment was too solemn, no situation too supreme, not to be marred by his unseasonable and inappropriate jests. If the people did not always exact the chequered tights and spangles, they demanded the merry-andrew—at Vienna under the green hat of a Salzburg clown, elsewhere, in white and scarlet. Gottsched exhorted the Neubers to wholly suppress this vulgar and disturbing element. They resolved on doing so by a characteristic theatrical exhibition. It was in October 1737, and their booth was at Hamburg. A suitable piece was played, in which a figure dressed up as a harlequin was brought up for trial, and all his outrages on decency and artistic proprieties were charged against him. He was sentenced to execution; a pyre was raised, and he was committed to the flames.

The demonstration had been ridiculed. Lessing calls it "itself the greatest harlequinade;" but it was the demonstration of a serious purpose, from which the Neubers never swerved, though it cost them their popularity, and brought them to ruin.

Many years ago, when English musical taste was in the depths, Julien attempted its education. With his band he performed a few classic pieces, interspersed with noisy rubbish of the modern French school. The ear of the vulgar was caught with the rubbish, and tolerated the good music. Little by little the musical faculty acquired a power of distinguishing between good and evil, and then what was worthless became distasteful, and the classic music was approved. But had Julien begun with the latter only, he would have disgusted, not have drawn. His performances would have pleased a few connoisseurs, not have raised the taste of the masses. The Neubers erred in banishing harlequin before the vulgar were trained to find his pranks distasteful, and they felt at once the consequences. Hitherto their dramas had pleased a cultivated circle: the people had crowded to their comedies, wherein harlequin cut his jokes. And it was on the people's groschen, not on the thalers of the men of letters, that the company had lived. The Neubers had burnt harlequin, as Cortez did his ships, and retreat was impossible. ***En avant*** was their motto, cost what it might. The audience yawned at the Alexandrines, and clamoured for a pantomime; for the old loved "Harlequin, the Living Clock," "The Man with Two Heads," and the like. In vain did Frau Neuber compose and introduce farces after her tragedies, in which the situations were laughable. The people would not laugh at fun that came from no accredited joker. They complained that tragedies were intolerable when not relieved by the capers of a fool, and history was dry dust unless treated as burlesque.

In 1735, when Frau Neuber had been three-quarters of a year in Hamburg, using every endeavour to recover her ground, and gain the approval of the people for her "purified stage," she had felt keenly her disappointment She was the object of ignoble cabals, of jealousies, mean insinuations, and even open attack. She gave vent to her indignation. The Hamburgers called her proud and thankless. They expected her to accept the crusts from their lavish tables with cringing humility. They would have her the servant, not the guide, of public taste. She fell into debt. Her enemies exulted. The headstrong choleric woman thought herself justified in telling the public her opinion. She announced a prelude to her last performance for the season on "The Condition of the Drama at all Seasons." The Senate had wind of its purport, and forbade the performance.

In 1738, when she acted at Hamburg for the first time, she had the triumph of performing in the opera-house, as the opera had failed. But this circumstance helped on her downfall. It drew on her the hostility of the lovers of the dead opera. She could not equal the attractions, the splendour of the ***mise-en-scène***, of the opera; she could not draw the multitude without harlequin. She lost her first actress, Gündler, who retired from the stage. With her usual energy, though she was aged forty-six, Frau Neuber threw herself into the parts hitherto filled by Gündler, and often acted two *rôles* in the same piece. But the audience sneered; she was too old for the part of first lady. In 1739 she met with no better success. The house in Hamburg became thinner and thinner. At the coffee-houses, the friends of the opera intrigued with the lovers of pantomime to make her ridiculous by lampoon, and hurt her character by innuendo.

Schönemann, her old harlequin, deserted her, and organised a new company, in which he might resume his gambols and jests. Eckenberg, a great Jack Pudding, set up his booth in rivalry and drew crowds. The ruin of the Neubers seemed inevitable, when the Empress Anna, on the recommendation of her Holstein supporter, invited the troupe to St. Petersburg.

Here was help in the hour of need! In the moment of exultation the embittered woman took a step which was as fatal as it was indiscreet. She who, with untiring effort, at great sacrifice, had lifted German art from the dungheap, had met with the recognition from a foreigner which had been denied her by her countrymen. Now she could pay her debts, and defy the spite, the ridicule, the persecution, with which she had been assailed. She closed her last performance at Hamburg with an epilogue composed by herself, and sufficiently remarkable to deserve an extract. It began:—

My friends, have patience, now I charge my foes;

and then, after a few introductory lines, went on:—

Perhaps the days will come,
In which the world will weigh with equal scale
What we have tried t' become, and you have proved to be.
Go! take you some Jack Pudding to your hearts,
Some clown from out a gutter, train him well,
And make him wise with all your treasured store
Of science and of sense; and set him up to be
Your teacher and your pattern . . . .
For what's your life-long object? good to spoil.
Your chiefest wisdom? innocence to stain;
For innocence you know not, sirs, nor grow,
Nor cherish in your midst. Oh! if she went,

Poor Purity, a beggar through your streets,
And asked a crust and water at your doors,
What would she get? . . . .

Whether the Hamburg audience heard her out may be doubted. The indignation she aroused was so general that the Senate cancelled her licence to play in the town. She was never after able to appear in Hamburg.

In Russia she met with nothing but disappointment. The opera was there in vogue, and no one cared for the drama. When her patroness, the Duchess of Courland, died, she returned to Germany, no richer than when she left it. Her sojourn in St. Petersburg had been brief; it lasted but a year. She found the soil in Germany not ready to receive her. Hamburg was closed to her. To the Elbe reigned Franz Schuch, the harlequin. This man in youth had been a friar in a Tyrolean convent. He ran away from it, came to Berlin, and became an actor. His wife took the part of Columbine. A cloister comrade, Stenzel, had escaped his cell with him, and played with him on the boards the part of Leander, the lover. Schuch and Stenzel were grave, honourable men in private life; but Schuch was transformed when he trod the stage. As he said of himself: "When he drew on the Hans-Wurst jacket, the devil entered into him." But it was a merry, harmless devil. He did his good work, for he purified stage humour. Schönemann, as has been said, had formed a troupe of his own, and was supported by Gottsched, who had quarrelled with the Neubers because they would not abandon a translation of Voltaire's "Alzira" by Strüven, which they had read up, for another made by Madame Gottsched. Kohlhardt, one of the best actors in the company, died almost like Molière, on the stage. Everything went wrong with Frau Neuber; and, in deep disappointment and distress, she broke up her company, and in 1743 went with her husband to Oschatz, where the Amtmann was their friend, and where she hoped a civil appointment might be obtained for Neuber. But this was also a failure. Next year she returned to the battle-field, sounded the call, and the *élite* of her old attached company flew to her again—Koch, Heydrich, Lorenz, Wolfram, bringing with them fresh adherents—the young and beautiful Kleefelder, and Schuberth. The Neubers at once entered the field against Schönemann. It was the period when the craze for pastoral scenes and idealised rusticity had set in over Europe. The Neubers introduced pastoral plays upon their stage with some success. Gellert wrote for them the first attempt at the domestic drama, "Die zärtliche Schwester." It was performed by them in 1745. One might have expected that the star of the Neubers would ascend again, that success would return, now that they had touched and opened a new dramatic vein; but it was not to be. They had fulfilled their mission. It is a universal historic experience that in the advance of civilisation individuals are ruthlessly cast aside as soon as they have accomplished the task set them. Leaders of great movements are left broken on the path, and fresh tools are taken up to carry on the work they began.

But one favour was accorded to Frau Neuber to link her life to the most important moment in the development of her art. She was allowed to introduce to the world that great man who was destined to found German literature and the national drama, and unite both in closest wedlock. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, a student of eighteen at Leipzig, brought her his first composition, "The Young Savant" (1747). She recognised at once the promise of genius, and brought out the piece on her stage. "Damon" and "The Old Maid" speedily followed.

This was the last gleam that falls on the history of this remarkable woman. In 1748 she lost Koch, Heydrich, and Lorenz, called to Vienna, where the Court desired the reformation of the theatre on her lines. Then her adopted daughter, the Kleefelder, married and left her. The ever-faithful Suppig died. In 1750 her troupe broke completely up, and she and her husband wandered about with a company of strolling players, as subordinates, performing at fairs. The Seven Years' war brought that to an end, and the Neubers found refuge with an honourable man at Dresden, Dr. Löber, physician to the King, who gave them a little room in his house free of rent. When Dresden was occupied in 1756 by the Prussian soldiers, some were quartered in their chamber. She was forced to live and sleep in the same room with the soldiers. But her dignity maintained its rights. At the window stood a little table, on which the old fallen couple continued their literary labours. This table was respected by the soldiers; not a pipe was ever laid on it. Neuber sickened and died; the soldiers helped to carry him to his grave. During the bombardment of 1760 the house was shelled and destroyed. Frau Neuber escaped with some members of the family of Dr. Löber to the village of Laubegast. There she fell ill. The host would not hear of an actress dying in his house, and her kind benefactors hired for her a lodging in another cottage, and carried her to it. It was a little room, with a window commanding the vine-clad hill of Pillnitz. The vines were now cleared of grapes, save a few purple clusters not gathered for the vintage, and the first frosts had touched the leaves crimson and amber. Into this room the Neuberinn was brought from the battles of theatrical life, persecuted by prejudice against her profession, seeking a corner in which she might lay her head to die. When the aged, God-fearing woman was carried in, overcome by emotion, she fell on her knees, and stretching out her arms towards the window, burst into the words of the Psalmist: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help. My help cometh even from the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth." There she died, not long after, on Saturday, November 30, 1760, about one o'clock in the morning. She was buried without religious service in the cemetery at Laubegast. Her grave is hard by the churchyard wall that runs along the Pirnau-road. Tradition adds that the pastor locked the graveyard gate against her body, and to get it to its place of rest, the coffin was flung over the wall.

Such was the end of a noble woman, who devoted her whole life to the cause of art and morality—a woman who was an honour not merely to her profession, but to her sex and country. The stage has produced many martyrs, but she was the first. She had an unbending will, but it was a will that would not bend because conscience was its director. To the carrying out of a true conviction she sacrificed fortune, favour, success, counting the cost, and submitting to pay it rather than descend from her ideal. If this be not the true heroism of a Christian, I ask, what is?

Frau Neuber had died in poverty, her work apparently a failure But it may be doubted if any serious work conscientiously carried out is lost. "Shew thy servants thy work, and their children thy glory," was the prayer of the psalmist, and prophetic of the ways of Providence. The work of the Neuberinn was not lost. Actors trained under her, Koch, Schönemann, Döbellin, and Ackermann, became directors of the great companies which played in Germany when the Neuberinn was gone, and her traditions were not cast aside. Six years after her death saw the last harlequin figure on the N. German stage; and in 1769, Hans Wurst was banished from the Viennese boards. On the outside of the theatre at Constance is a curious painting of about 1770. It represents the triumph of the dramatic Muses over the pantomime and burlesque, impersonated by harlequin, Hans Wurst, pantaloon, and clown, who are being precipitated into darkness by the radiant Muses—the whole a parody of the fall of the angels before Michael.

Frau Neuber had raised the drama, but had not made it either national or natural. She had sought inspiration in France, and had transformed a creation of the popular life into a courtly orator. If she had civilised a savage, she had also made him artificial. Before the stage could reach the heart of the people, and fulfil the task she designed it to execute, much she had taught must be unlearned. The man who took up her unfinished work, and gave it the impulse and direction it needed, was Eckhof.

Konrad Eckhof was born at Hamburg in 1720, of poor parents. He began his education as lamp-trimmer and candle-snuffer in Schönemann's theatre. When no one was in the house, and he had done his work, the boy would set up coats and gowns in the stalls, and act to them from the stage. He was a little man, high-shouldered and bony, and with strongly accentuated features. His only charm lay in his voice and eye, both capable of the most subtle and varied expression. His unprepossessing exterior prevented directors from engaging him at first, but when once he had set his foot on the stage his power manifested itself, and in a few years he was recognized as the first actor in Germany. Lessing worked with him. It was Lessing's object to correct the affectation of the French drama by an appeal to Shakspeare as the type of true art. Eckhof was a careful and accurate student of nature. Consequently, the poet and the player were admirably calculated to work together. They released the drama from the golden but cumbrous fetters of the rococo style, and gave it a healthy and free life—gave it back to nature, but not to barbarism. Nicolai gives an instance of Eckhof's dramatic power. He visited him in his old age, along with Musæus, and asked him to read them something. Eckhof chose a scene from "Codrus," then that of the meeting of Lusignan with his children, from "Zaïre." And so, in dressing-gown and nightcap, with spectacles on his nose, seated in his high-backed arm-chair, he produced intense artistic effect upon his hearers, so that the tears rolled down their cheeks. Then, springing out of his chair, and flinging aside his dressing-gown, he gave a scene from the "Bauer with an Inheritance" with such comic power, "that scarce a trace could be distinguished of the man of dignity and inner tenderness we had seen before. He was the bauer all over, to the bowed knees, the up-drawn shoulders; in every muscle of the face and movement of the hand was the richest comic expression."

Tales of Eckhof's power border on the fabulous. It is said that when an Englishman, passing through Weimar, begged Eckhof to give him a specimen of his reading, the actor declaimed to him the German A B C with such variation of expression between the pathetic, the heroic, and the ludicrous, that the Englishman alternately wept, and bristled, and burst into uncontrolled laughter. Lessing says of him, "Eckhof can play any part he chooses. In the smallest, his ability as a first-rate actor stares you in the face. One feels vexed that he cannot take every part simultaneously, and then the performance would be perfection."

Eckhof is rightly regarded as the father of the German drama. The work of Frau Neuber was negative, his was positive. She freed the art from coarseness, but he made it German, and touched the heart of the people. I have entered at such length into the life of the Neuberinn, that I must only indicate the results of Eckhof's labours without attempting a biography.

The first Court theatres in Weimar, Schwerin, and Gotha, the first attempt at a national theatre at Hamburg, are associated with his name. He fitly shares with Lessing the fame of having created the German drama. One glimpse I must give of his private character, to show how worthy a successor he was to the Neuberinn, and how good and noble were these two founders of the modern dramatic profession.

If every work of art partakes somewhat of the personality of its creator, how much more true must this be of the dramatic art, in which creator and creature are one? Eckhof never thought of dissociating the man from the artist, and the artist from his work. Thoroughly conscientious, he was persuaded that to be able to take a noble part, the actor must be noble in himself; he must be able to feel the sentiments put into his mouth; he must be virtuous and generous himself, or he cannot appreciate virtuous and generous characters. A man may be many-sided, and able to catch and caricature the infirmities of his fellows in their many varieties, but unless the light of purity of purpose burns in his heart, he cannot catch and copy the beauties of good lives equally varied. So possessed was he with this idea, that for a quarter of a year he lectured, in the dramatic academy he had founded, on the necessity of the actor leading a high and moral life, to enable him to become great in representations of noble characters. And the religious sincerity with which he pursued his art made him carry out in his own life the morality he preached on the stage, and conquer in himself the passions and vices he denounced. He was a devout and regular attendant at church, and after his death many sacred poems and prayers were found among his papers.

Well has it been said of him, "The first great German actor was an honourable and upright man, fearing God, in whom could not be detected the absence of a single quality which is thought to characterise a true Christian and a good citizen." For thirty-eight years he reigned on the German stage, long enough to give it its modern direction. The last *rôle* he played was that of the ghost of Hamlet's father, and it was noticed that his last words on the stage were, "Adieu, adieu! remember me."

The Neuberinn and Eckhof, the founders of the modern drama, were worthy representatives of a profession which has since earned for itself the respect and gratitude of the German people.

From this period the history of the drama and stage is one of progress, scarcely interrupted. Under Schröder, Shakspeare was translated and performed, and became a preponderating influence. Lessing, Schiller, Goethe wrote. Wandering companies settled down in the principal towns; and in 1776, under Iffland and Baron Herbert von Dalberg, the first attempt was made to organise a dramatic school for the profession at Mannheim. This remains as the nursery to the German stage. At Mannheim, young actors and actresses receive their training: it is a school for music, scene-painting, mechanism, costume—in a word, for everything pertaining to the dramatic art.

It is unnecessary for me to give further particulars of its growth. The little streams had run together into a great river.

The precarious existence of a disordered youth had acquired vigour and gravity. Let us now look at the modern German stage.

In the spring of 1877, I was at Partenkirchen, in the Bavarian Oberland. Opposite my windows was a little inn occupied by a company of strolling players. The attic of the tavern was the theatre. Performance began at 6 P.M. with the director's little boy going round the town with a drum rattling the roll-call. Sight-seers fell in behind the drummer, and we streamed *en queue* up the stairs into the garret. Reserved seats were sixpence, back seats fourpence, and standing places one penny. The loft was crowded to suffocation. An observer in the house opposite insisted he saw our steam visibly issue from the *louvre* in the roof. Lasses in white sleeves and laced bodices, matrons with beaver mitres, jägers, and bürgers, and burschen of every degree, were there with beaming faces and chattering tongues. The proscenium consisted of newly planed deal boards, with a shield of paper on each side, on which was painted a bunch of gentians, alpenrosen, and edelweiss. The curtain was a sheet of brown holland, with a lyre of gilt paper pasted in the centre.

The Partenkirchen band occupied a bench against the footlights, and performed the double function of orchestra, and easing the curtain as it fell or rose, so as not to knock over the chimneys of the paraffin lamps that served as footlights. The violoncello-player was a raw hand, that roamed vaguely with the bow over the strings, and threw in grunts at random. The chief forester then came to the rescue, and from the reserve seats by me, prompted the bass with his stentorian directions, "B—C—bah Dummkopf! F—G!" etc. The manager's bell had tinkled, and tongues were wagging, when, all at once, from the Church tower tolled the Angelus. An instantaneous hush fell on the audience. The orchestra stopped. Every head was uncovered. It was still in the theatre, as in the Church, at the Elevation. Then the bell ceased, and as the tongues broke loose, the manager repeated his signal, and up rose the brown-holland curtain.

The scene was pretty, if the proportions were not correct. Alpine peaks, the Zugspitz with its glaciers, and a little blue lake, the Blaue Gumpen, at its foot. On the left a chalet with a window, from which a Tyrolese girl was leaning and singing. Presently a distant jödel is heard, and a young chamois-hunter enters. He has come to the *Alm* to see his *Maidle* and tell her that he has been drawn at the conscription and must off to the wars. She fears for him: he scarce believes she will remain true to him. Girls are giddy and love pleasure. How will she bear it to be without a *Bua* to jödel with her on Saturday evenings on the Alm, and to attend her to the dance at Kermesse? They part, and he leaves with her his hunter's gun, and pouch, and hat, adorned with the curved feathers of the Black Grouse. As he descends the mountain-side she sings to him, and fainter sound his answering calls; then tears choke her utterance, and the curtain falls on her, praying that her *Bua* may be preserved in battle.

The second act takes place inside the chalet after the lapse of three years. The Sennerinn is engaged churning, and she sings and speaks to herself. On a nail hang the hat and gun and bag of her old Schatz, religiously preserved. Presently it occurs to her that on this very day three years ago, her lover had left her for the wars, and leaving her churn, she goes to the window, and leaning and looking wistfully forth, sings her old song

Auf der Alm, auf der Alm, ja da ist a Freud,
Auf der Alm da ist a Leben.

From far away comes the refrain jödeled back to her. She is startled, and puts her hand to her heart. Presently her lad enters in uniform. He has returned invalided, and discharged. The meeting is pathetic. He has been wounded, but he has his pension and his iron cross. He has been true to her, and she to him. There hang his hat and pouch and gun, displaced by those of no other hunter. He catches them from the nail, and shouldering his little bundle retires. Whilst he is absent her full heart breaks out. She kneels, and lifting her grateful hands to heaven, utters a glad hymn of praise. Whilst thus praying he enters behind in his old Tyrolean costume. But he removes his hat, and stands still behind her with folded hands. Thanks and praise for happy reunion to the source whence all blessings flows. And so the curtain falls on them. What could have been simpler, and what more touching? Two performers only, and a plot without a tangle; a drama of every day. Two hearts loving, two hearts parting, confiding each other to God, two hearts meeting and uniting in the love of God. Perhaps it was due to the sweet simplicity and purity of the whole performance, as much as to the fact that several of the airs in it came back to me, wafted from boyhood from the lips of my mother, that I was more affected by this little play in a tavern attic than by anything I have seen on the best stage, always excepting Jenny Lee's incomparable "Jo."

On another occasion we had "Ida of Tannenburg, or Filial Affection," for children, wherein, as a final spectacle, the whole company appeared in a red blaze of strontian fire, repeating in unison, "Honour thy father and mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." During my stay at Partenkirchen, I made the acquaintance of Herr Director Stöbe and his wife the Frau Directorinn. He and I climbed some of the peaks together, and he gathered on the Krottenkopf the first Alpenrosen of the year for her. She was gentle and ladylike, engrossed in her children. The rest of the company consisted of a stout Frau Hoffmann, who leaned out of her window the greater part of the day in *déshabillé*, with her head in an infinity of little curl-papers, as though it were the pasturage of countless small snails—smoking a long German pipe with a death's-head and cross-bones painted on the bowl; a first lady, a Fraülein Seichel, who smoked cigarettes; her mother, with a blind eye, who acted the countess and royal parts; and a grandmother, in peasant costume, who was prompter; also two young men—one a student of jurisprudence of Tübingen, the other a candidate of Evangelical theology at Heidelberg—who were trying the stage and their chances with the fair Seichel, before committing themselves irrevocably to the bar or the pulpit.

But what a change to the strolling companies of a century ago! What a difference in dramatic performance!

There are now very nearly 3000 professionals in Germany, exclusive of chorus in the opera and walking parties in a drama; exclusive also of all strolling companies, whose numbers are not given in the "Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach." In Germany and Austria there are 235 theatres—indeed, there is not a little town without one; but the season at each is not the same; and one company will play alternate nights at two theatres in places not very distant from one another.

At Aachen, for instance, the opera season is in the summer. A travelling company plays at the principal provincial towns in

Westphalia. The company in the Stadt Theatre at Hamburg performs also in Altona during the season. The same company plays at Karlsruhe in the winter, and at Baden-Baden in summer. One company performs on alternate nights at Nürnberg and Bamberg. In Berlin there are twenty theatres, in Potsdam three, in Hamburg eight, in Munich, with a population of 170,000, there are four. Hanover, with a population of 76,000, has two.

Of German acting, I cannot speak in very high terms: it is wanting in delicacy and finish. German dramatic genius may do well in tragedy: it is quite in its element in broad, vulgar comedy, but it is entirely incapable of attaining to the ease and refinement of the French stage. Of the artists I am glad to bring a better report. They are quiet, respectable, educated persons, very often surpassing in polish the best society in the town where they live; they rarely forfeit the regard of the public by irregularities in their private conduct. It is not uncommon for an actor or actress to remain for many years established as a favourite in a town, and the artist has access to all but the most exclusive society, is made much of, and a kindly mutual attachment grows up between him or her and the public. Should the artist leave, there is a farewell at the railway station, at which troops of those who have applauded from pit and box attend; and the separation is sometimes not unaccompanied with tears. A kindly, amiable folk—of course, having their little rivalries and quarrels, but forming warm friendships, and—curiously enough, the class most domesticated of all. A German householder lives at his club, his Bierbrauerei, or his tavern. He is never at home with his wife and daughters, but for bed and dinner. But it is not so with the actor. He is too migratory a bird to belong to any club, to become an ancient at a brewery: consequently, he is driven to live at home. He spends his time with his wife; and at his home holds his merry gatherings of fellow-artists with their wives.

I remember sitting in the second *loge* one evening, beside the wife of a very wretched actor—a poor tenor, who was murdering the part of Oberon in Weber's opera. She, not supposing that I knew who she was, became most confidential on the excellences of the performer. She pointed out beauties in his acting which no one else saw, sweetness in notes which were pleasant to her ear alone, and applauded vociferously when the parterre hissed. Poor woman! with trembling hands she leaned forward, and flung a wreath upon the stage at his feet. A roar of laughter was provoked, and the actor's eyes filled, but he looked up, caught his wife's eye, and smiled. Was it a crime against art that I ever after gave poor Oberon the loudest applause I could evoke with palms and the ferrule of my umbrella? Behind my house was a nursery, and from the loquacious old gardener I had the secret history of many of the bouquets that were showered on the actresses and singers. Every time the *prima donna* sang, there fell at her feet a nosegay from her husband. It was astonishing how many bouquets were given to the firemen to be cast on the stage by actresses in kindly encouragement to one another. On one occasion, when a *soubrette* had met with unmerited want of recognition after a trying part, newly read, a shower of nosegays fell about her, and every one had been purchased—and at a time when flowers were costly—by her companions.

The profession is one that pays very fairly.

In a little town of, say, 25,000 people, the first tenor and first female singers will get 900 marks a month each, say, from 200*l.* to 300*l.* for the season. The principal actors will, however, receive only 500 marks per month, or 150*l.* for the season. During the other six months they may be engaged for occasional summer performances. This is nothing to what great singers and actors expect in England; but then with us there is no provincial stage, certainly no opera.

The theatres in Germany are either managed by the court, or by the town, or belong to a company, or are private speculations. Where there is a Residenz, there will be a court theatre, supported by Government. Even the little courts, as Cassel, Meiningen, Sigmaringen, etc., have their theatres, receiving a subvention from government. Where there are no princely residences, there are town theatres, partly supported by the Rath, which appoints a commission to determine the programme of performances, attend and see that everything is conducted with decorum, and choose the *personnel* for the season: an annual grant is made to the theatre by the town from its funds. For instance, in the winter of 1877–8, the Stadtrath of Freiburg in Baden gave a subvention of 18,000 marks or 900*l.*

That is a little town of nearly 25,000 inhabitants. Some particulars of its theatre I will give, as an illustration. In 1806, by the peace of Pressburg, Freiburg was made over to Baden. It had previously belonged to Austria. The Baden Government at once suppressed the religious houses in the town: among them, an Augustinian monastery; the church it converted into a theatre, and the other buildings to various purposes, some connected with the theatre, some not. The town council appoints a commission, composed of gentlemen interested in literature and art, men of rank in the town—the Burgomaster, the chief judge of the circuit, the principal landed noblemen living in Freiburg, etc., and they are wholly responsible for the conduct of the theatre. They appoint the performers, choose the plays and operas, maintain good conduct in the company, audit the accounts, etc. There is an opera company as well as a dramatic company engaged for the season. The total cost of the theatre for the year is 4,500*l.*; but the season is only from October 1 to March 31. Twice a week there are operas, and twice a week plays, dramas, tragedies, and comedies.

The prices charged for places are the same for opera and for play:—

	s.	*d.*
Principal boxes (centre)	2	6
„ (side)	2	3
Stalls and parterre boxes	2	0
Upper-tier boxes	1	6
Pit	1	2
Gallery (2nd tier)	1	0
Upper gallery	from 4*d.*-6*d*	

When the theatre is full in every part, the entire take is 50*l.* In the season the receipts amount to 3,500*l.*, or, on an average, 35*l.* a night.

Any one who would suppose that for this small cost the performance would be poor, and the *mise-en-scène* inferior, would be greatly mistaken. For instance, I have heard "Faust" and "Lohengrin" both at Drury Lane and at Freiburg, and certainly scenery and general spectacle were quite equal on the little stage to that in the English metropolis. There is not the lavish expenditure, but there is taste; the scenery and dresses are used again and again for other operas, but they are good. Bâle has a population of 45,000 instead of 25,000, and its theatre is in no way superior. The opera at Geneva is in every point inferior. The winter of 1877–78, we had "Der Freischütz" for four nights at Freiburg. It has been recently performed at Her Majesty's, where I heard it, and in every particular, both of acting, singing, and *mise-en-scène*, chorus excepted, the Freiburg performance was superior.

The performance begins at 7 P.M., and the whole thing is over about 9. Nobody goes dressed. Ladies can go without an escort. Would that we had such cheap, wholesome amusements in every provincial town in England! I may mention here a few instances of the way in which the stage is kept healthy in tone. On one occasion last winter, Madame Emile Girardin's "Lady Tartuffe" was played. Like all French comedies it has its offensive points, which come out in the last scene. The curtain fell amidst a hurricane of hisses, and the play was never repeated. Strauss's vulgar "Fledermaus" was put on the stage. The kissing chorus in the second act gave such offence, that it had to be modified on reproduction. In a little town in South Germany, where a travelling company was performing, one evening a comedy was given, which has had a great run in Berlin. It turns on the misadventures of a Protestant pastor, who, in company with a doubtful lady, that has attached herself to him in the street, goes into a restaurant of bad repute, and there meets the Minister of Public Worship.

The little town where this was performed was Catholic, and the theatre was crammed. But the piece caused such universal indignation, that, on the next performance of the company, there were only six persons present. Berlin is by no means squeamish. As Wagner's "Tristan" is performed at the Imperial Opera House there, it is unendurable by any decent-minded person. The ladies of neither the upper nor bürger classes in the Prussian capital have a fine perception of what is decent, and what is unfit for presentation; but this is not the case in the south of Germany, where a higher tone prevails. What will make a Saxon or a Prussian laugh will make a Bavarian or a Badenserinn blush.

I wish that our playwrights, instead of drawing so liberally upon French sources, would turn to German. They would find there abundant and wholesome material. The comedies and farces are rich in fun, and most numerous. Nothing can be better than

Moser's "Stiftungsfest," "Hektor," and "Veilchenfresser;" Töpfer's "Rosenmüller u. Finke," Müller's "Im Wartesalon I. Classe;" Putlitz' "Schwert des Damokles;" Benedix' "Die Banditten;" "Hundert Tausend Thaler," "Mamsell Uebermuth," and a hundred more.

Dramas are less easily adapted. "Das Anna-Lise," "Zopf u. Schwerdt," "Die Frau Professorinn," and many others, are charming. There is one little piece, I think, might well find favour on a London stage. I should like to see it in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft at the Haymarket. I allude to the "Adelaide" of Hugo Müller—a sketch from the life of Beethoven, when deafness was creeping over him, a prey to his unsympathetic landlady worrying the old man about his accounts, but attended by her daughter, whose clear girl's voice penetrates his dull ears. In youth Beethoven had loved an Adelaide, who was, however, forced by her parents to marry an Italian count. As Beethoven is lying down in the afternoon in an adjoining room, a lady in mourning arrives: Lachner, the pupil of the great musician, is then singing "Adelaide," a song composed by Beethoven, whilst the girl Clärchen accompanies him on the piano. This is the original Adelaide, now a widow, come to offer herself and fortune to the composer. The interview with the aged man, the recognition of his old love, his straining to catch her voice, and finding it in vain, and then his refusal of her offer, forms one of the most powerful scenes of refined pathos that an actor of ability would desire to study.

But the melodrama has not as yet, in Germany, obtained a firm footing. Shakspeare is more acted on the stages in Fatherland than in England. Schiller's plays, it must be confessed, are tedious on the stage; the same must be said of Goethe's "Egmont." We live in a transition period, when forms and fashions and ideas are in a state of flux. There is much freedom, but not independence, much culture, little originality. Every art exhibits want of earnestness in its professors. The modern drama, like modern architecture, is full of prettinesses, but is without character, is imitative and not original, and where original, monstrous or grotesque. We may take Charlotte Birch Pfeiffer as the representative of the modern drama. "Mutter Birch" was a genial, kindly writer. "What I have written," she says of herself, "I have always written from a full heart." Ever healthy in tone, never commonplace in diction, spirited in action, ripe in interest, her dramas have long been favourites with the public. Some of her works can never die. The "Goldbauer" is as perfect in its delineation of character as it is spirited in the conduct of action. If the English public could be induced to listen to, and take interest in a melodrama, which is laid in Tyrol and not in Ireland, then the "Goldbauer" is the piece for the Adelphi. But Birch Pfeiffer could never soar to be a leader of taste, she was forced to follow the fashion and not to guide it. She has herself, in her kindly sarcastic way, shown how a dramatist must accommodate himself to passing humour, in her farce "How to fill a House." It is this which makes Birch Pfeiffer a typical example of the infirmity of purpose of the modern drama.

During forty years she went hand in hand with every changing fancy of the day, turning from one style to another, as an architect designs a house or town hall according to the rage of the moment. The romantic school reigned from 1820–30, led by Fouqué and Tieck. Then Birch Pfeiffer wrote "Walpurgisnacht," "Robert the Devil," "Schloss Greifenstein,"[1] "The Bell-Ringer of Notre Dame," "Hinko the Freebooter," and "Heimer the Body-Snatcher." But then the recoil after the Polish and French Revolution began in Germany, manifest in a noisy anti-Gallic bluster and exaltation of Teutonism. Birch Pfeiffer wrote "Carl the Great before Pavia," "Johannes Gutenberg," "Ulric Zwingle's Death." The public applauded the representative heroes of Germanism. It was grateful to the authoress for sparing it the trouble of doing that which these heroes professed. It streamed out of the theatre thinking it had done great things for Fatherland in applauding the patriotic utterances of its Teutonic ideals. Then the fit passed. The palate of the public was satiated with mock heroes; it asked for something simple, fresh from nature, and she wrote "Stephan Laager, the Rope-Maker," and "Glazier Toni." But when these country scenes no longer drew, when people, tired of curds and whey, returned to oysters and champagne, then she gave them the good bürgerish drama, "Night and Morning,"[2] "Mother and Son," "One Family." But this fashion did not last long. There was something dull and drab in colour about citizen life, fit material for comedy, not for melodrama. The itch for the tinsel of *baroque* returned, and to please a blasé public, she wrote "The Marquise de Villette,"[1] "Anne of Austria," "Ein Billet." But these gay pictures and glimpses of gilded life pleased but a short time a public which had been too recently oppressed to support it in its extravagance. Revolution was simmering in the witch cauldron of the future. The revolt of 1848 burst upon Germany, which led to the destruction of the aristocracy. To the cry of "Away with the ministry!" "Down with the nobility!" "An end of privilege!" Birch Pfeiffer composed the absurd drama, "Der Pfarrer," in which a countess, fired with Radical views, renounces her rank, privileges place at court, that she may marry a Lutheran pastor, with a dunghill at his backdoor.

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[1] All the first part is a mere recasting of the libretto of *Euryanthe*.

[2] An adaptation of Bulwer Lytton's novel.

The public applauded uproariously the disgrace of the minister, and renunciation of noble prerogative. But reaction followed. German society thought it had been a little precipitate in blotting its gentry out of its account-book, and a sentimental sighing over the disabled estate arose. So Birch Pfeiffer wrote her "Magdala," and "Im Wald," full of daring innocence, purse-proud shopkeepers, arrogant bauers, and dignified, suffering aristocrats.

As a representative of the sensational dramatic composer, Heinrich Laube occupies a higher place. But in spite of artistic intention, and great genius, he is but Birch Pfeiffer on a grander scale. Effect is the one thing for which he strives. He is brilliant, interesting, but not poetical. Somewhat earlier, Halm represented the lyric drama. Halm (Baron Eligius von Münch-Bellinghausen) died in 1870, but he began to write in 1834. His "Griseldis" and "Ein Sohn der Wildniss," etc. maintain their places on the German stage. But he is a poet who veils the void of ideas with smooth iambics. There is nothing in his plays to make them live. Between Laube and Halm stand Putlitz and von Redwitz. "Das Testament des grossen Kurfürsten" of the former, and "Philippine Welser" by the latter, are accepted favourites: they unite force of situation to dignity of diction. "Ein Arzt von Granada," showed that Brachvogel was a true dramatic poet. In "Narcissus" he proved his powers as a sensationalist. Unfortunately the demand for sensationalism at all cost has produced a deteriorating effect on even Mosenthal, the gifted author of "Deborah." Paul Lindau represents the modern middle-class drama. Michael Bär's "Hundsee" deserves mention. More numerous are the writers of comedies. I have mentioned some. Wichert, Hackländer, Bauernfeld, are the names of other writers. Benedix is a healthy and brilliant author. He strives to amuse, but always keeps a good purpose in view. He has some better object at heart than merely filling the house and setting it in a roar.

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[1] A very graceful play, charming on the stage for its pictures as well as situations.

In the comedies and dramas of the first half of this century the prince solved every entanglement in the plot. Of course the lovers must be made happy; and the prince appeared as the "Deus ex machinâ," flung aside his incognito, unbuttoned his great coat, displayed his order, and the lovers rushed into each other's arms But mediatisation did away with a great many princes, and commercial enterprise made money supreme. The prince disappeared from the stage, and his place was taken by the uncle from America. He pulls bags of dollars out of his pocket, notes from his book, difficulties disappear before hard cash, and the lovers are made happy. Then came the political convulsions of '48. The romantic school arose. The American uncle became antiquated. The rope-ladder formed a road to the hymeneal altar. Modern chemistry discovered the poisonous qualities of carbonic acid. The lovers work on the fears of the parents by threatening to commit suicide by means of charcoal and a cooking stove. The hard-hearted parent gives his blessing, and the young people are made happy. But there is something rude in this method. It manifests no invention, and is liable to pall. Consequently the new school of dramatists have had recourse to other methods. Listening at doors, peeping into letters, tampering with confidential servants, deception, equivocation—such are the choice methods of circumventing obstructions. But the lovers must be made happy in each other's arms; what does it matter how this result is brought about?

There is a difference between the Berlin and the Viennese comedy which deserves notice. The fun in favour at Berlin is that of persiflage, at Vienna of genial mirth. The former is the laughter of the blasé man of the world, who believes in nothing, neither in religion nor honour and virtue in woman or man, holding that of honesty

> There's not a grain of it the face to sweeten
> Of the whole dungy earth.

Viennese humour is the boisterous merriment of sunny youth, of the student and the recruit, romp and rollick, genial and careless. Berlin wit is purposeful, Viennese purposeless. The former is stinging, wounding, the latter innocent and guileless. The former is witty, the latter humorous. The first has in it thought, the latter poetry.

If there are no great modern tragedians, there are many who are pleasing. Of these Felix Dahn deserves notice: he is an historian, and his dramas are written with political purpose. "König Roderick," which appeared in 1874, represents the battle of the State againt the Church; "Deutsche Treue" (1875), the triumph of the idea of Imperial unity over German particularism. In 1816 appeared Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau," which at once stamped the author as a genius and a great dramatic writer. It was a strange weird play of fatalism and supernatural elements. The high order of the poetry, and the ability with which exciting situations were worked up, made the play very popular. Unfortunately Grillparzer's next adopted classic subjects, "Sappho," "The Golden Fleece," "Medea," etc., in which modern sentimentality and lyrical pathos in an antique setting somewhat jar on the taste. His finest production was "The Fortune and Fall of King Ottocar" (1825). Though wanting in strongly drawn historical characters, the drama is full of merit and power.

Prince George of Prussia wrote under the name of Conrad, but his tragedies have little merit. Hebbel deserves a word. His tragedies are works of art, and the offspring of genius, but revolting and demoniacal. He is by far the greatest dramatic writer of modern times, but also the most unfortunate. "Judith" appeared in 1841; "Genoveva" in 1843; "Maria Magdalena," a tragedy of common life, in 1844. A second series is composed of "Herod and Mariamne," "Julia," "Michael Angelo," "Agnes Bernauer," and "Gyges and his Ring." His last piece was "The Nibelungen," 1862. His tragedies as they succeeded one another seemed to grow in power, but also in offensiveness. As he wrote he became bolder, but also more horrible and capricious. His moral pathos is that of a Danton or Robespierre.

Mosen's dramas are overweighted with the lyrical element: there is too great play of diction, too little articulation of character, too much subjectivity, to make them successful on the stage. But the charm of poetic beauty, pure feeling, and noble purpose, is there, elevating them above mediocrity. One alone holds a place on the stage, "Otto III." But the best tragedy after Schiller and Goethe is "Uriel Acosta" by von Gutzkow, a most fertile and versatile writer. Two of the best modern comedies are also by him, "Zopf und Schwerdt" and "Das Urbild des Tartuffe."

CHAPTER X.

THE KULTURKAMPF.

Shal. What! the sword and the word! do you study them both, master parson?

Evans. There is reasons and causes for it.

Merry Wives of Windsor, act iii. sc. 1.

The old German Empire was built on a confederation of princes and powers. It held together very loosely. The Emperor could never rely on the princes for support, and the princes were ever jealous of the authority of the Kaiser. Charles the Great, foreseeing the danger to the Empire from the rivalries of the secular princes, elevated some of the bishoprics into principalities under episcopal sovereigns, trusting that these spiritual princes would stand by the Imperial throne, and maintain its prerogatives against the seculars. He looked to them as the peace-and-order-loving elements in the constitution. But he left out of his calculation the fact that these prelates owed a double allegiance, and that the King of Germany, as head of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Italy, was liable to be regarded with suspicion and jealousy by the Roman Pontiff, the spiritual head of these bishops.

Throughout the Middle Ages the See of Rome pursued the readily intelligible policy of undermining the Empire, of sowing in its fields the tares of strife. It was the Papacy which sat under the table of the Electors and cast the apple of discord into their midst: it was the Papacy which hampered the development of a great idea, and made of the Empire a house divided against itself. It did so solely because the King of Germany wore the crown of Italy, and was chief patrician of Rome.

The ideal of the Papacy was the establishment of the throne of

Peter as head over a temporal realm of Italy, and the fulfilment of this ideal was made impossible by the might of Germany. In France the great princes were crushed, and the King became supreme. In Germany the Empire broke up, and the princes established their independence. In France the centripetal force prevailed, in Germany the force that was centrifugal. In France, the feudal nobles succumbed without the Pope lifting a finger to save them; but then, none of the bishops were princes, and the King of France was not King of Italy.

Every German who has studied the history of his country knows that the failure in the accomplishment of the ideal of Charlemagne was due to two causes: a loose confederation of the States composing the Empire, and the interference of the Holy See.

When the Imperial crown of Germany was offered to William of Prussia, at Versailles, and it became possible again to labour at the accomplishment of that ideal which had broken down finally in the Thirty Years' war, the Chancellor doubtless supposed that the two causes which had prevented that accomplishment before existed still, and must be met and overcome.

But, with regard to the first, Prussia has little grounds for fear. Holding the Imperial crown, she is vastly more powerful than any of the States separately which form the union, and with the States which she can absolutely command can crush at any moment an attempt to resist too summary incorporation.[1] Like Hermione—"She is spread of late into a goodly bulk."

The Episcopal Electorates of Cologne, Münster, and Trèves have passed to her. Part of Poland has become her spoil. She exacted Silesia of Austria as the price of recognition of the right of Maria Theresa to the throne of the Hapsburgs. Grand Duchies have been absorbed in quick succession. Schleswig-Holstein has been appropriated, Nassau incorporated. Hanover has gone to make her "round apace," and now there is not a State in Germany which does not exist on sufferance. Hesse was allowed in '66 to linger on because of its relationship to Russia. Baden has bought a prolongation of life by marrying a Prussian princess. The Queen of Würtemberg was an Olga of Russia, and the King has no son. Prussia has, however, planted one foot in Swabia, in Hohenzollern, and she is not likely to be satisfied till she can put down the other there also.

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[1] Population (1875):—Prussia, 25,772,562; Bavaria, 5,022,904; Saxony, 2,760,542, Würtemberg, 1,881,505; Baden, 1,506,531; Hesse, 882,349; Elsass-Lothringen, 1,529,408.

Since 1871, the policy of centralisation has been steadily pursued. Universal military service, which had previously prevailed only in Prussia, has been extended to the whole Empire, and the armies of the States are being systematically unified. "The entire military force of the Empire," says Art. 63 of the Imperial Constitution, "shall form one single army, standing in war and peace under the command of the Emperor. The regiments shall be numbered consecutively throughout the whole German army. The uniform shall be conformed in cut and colour to that of the Royal Prussian army; but the Sovereigns of the several contingents shall be allowed to add extra distinctions, as cockades and the like."

Baden regiments are commanded by Prussian officers and may be moved where the Emperor chooses, into Lothringen, or Westphalia, or Schleswig. And though Würtemberg soldiers remain in the kingdom, they are placed under the command of a Prussian general. All fortresses are Imperial, and the commanders of them are appointed by the Emperor.

The old coinage of Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, etc., is suppressed; kreuzers and guldens, to the joy of travellers, have made way for Pfennige and Marken, stamped with "Deutsches Reich;" and the Imperial Eagle, bearing the Prussian escutcheon, has supplanted the arms of the States on every coin.[1]

Everywhere, except in Bavaria and Würtemberg, the post-office has passed into the hands of the Empire, which has also laid hold of the telegraphs, and appropriated the customs. Before long the railways will probably have been delivered up to the Empire, and on the carriages the black eagle will be painted over the blue and white Bavarian chequer and the gold and red arms of Baden.

Thus the whole postal, telegraphic, railroad, parcels-delivery, and customs administration, will be filled with employés of the Empire, looking to Berlin, not to Munich, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Dresden, and Darmstadt. At Berlin will be gathered every thread of power, and the whole of Germany will be involved in a net held by the firm hand of the Imperial Chancellor.

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[1] In the South, on the change of coinage, it was desired to have the French decimal system, with the frank of the same value as in Italy, France, Switzerland, and Belgium. But Berlin ruled otherwise.

Before 1866, Southern Germany inclined to an alliance with Austria rather than with Prussia. It was not forgotten that Prussia had played a selfish game in the great wars with Napoleon, and that Austria had ventured all and lost vastly for the common good. Prussia was known to have the appetite of the boa, but then her administration commanded respect, whilst that of Austria was inchoate. If Prussia was poor, she was not impecunious; she could pay in silver, where Austria offered only silver paper. There was no help to be gotten out of an Empire which issued notes for eighteenpence. Montecuculi said that for war three things are needed: first, money; secondly, money; and thirdly, money. Austria had not these requisites, and a piece of tissue-paper that dissolves to pulp in a shower is a poor substitute for hard cash.[1] What redemption can come from an Empire that even in 1878 issued lottery tickets for the support of its army? If eyes turned to Austria, it was only with sentiment: it was with as little thought of union as has the student who casts tender glances at the dowerless Kellnerinn—

Lieben, lieben will ich dich,
Aber heirathen *nicht*.

A large part of South Baden belonged, before 1802, to Austria. The people in the Southern Schwarzwald speak affectionately of the past union, and grumble over their present political marriage, but it is the sentiment of the widow who flings the virtues of the late lamented in the face of her second husband, without the expectation, perhaps the wish to resuscitate the first.

The twins born back to back never made much progress in the world, for each objected to walk backwards. Austria consists of three personalities; the thoughtful German, the plodding Slav, and the blustering Magyar, not linked as the graces, but like Samson's foxes. The forces of the Empire are exhausted internally in keeping the tails together. With Sadowa finally disappeared the "Gross Deutschland-Partei," which clung to the dream of an Austrian union. If there be dislike in the South to Prussia, it is because the Prussian has made himself offensive to the gentler and more courteous Southerner. In 1878, on March 22, the birthday of the Emperor, a military banquet was given at Munich in honour of the Kaiser, to which were invited all Prussian officers then in Munich, and his health was enthusiastically drunk by Bavarians and Prussians alike. When, next, the health of the King of Bavaria was proposed, the Prussian junior officers remained seated, and refused the toast; when asked the reason they replied by their spokesmen, that the mental or bodily welfare of the Sovereign was a matter of supreme indifference to them. In a club to which I belonged in a South German city, the Prussian officers of the native garrison were admitted by the kindly citizens, proposed and elected without prejudice. Once in, they monopolised the best room and best tables, and by their loudly expressed insulting speeches about the little State, its sovereign, and religion, drove the old members from the room into another. These are mere specimens of conduct pretty general, and which naturally embitters people against Prussia. They decline to love those who comport themselves not as conquerors only, but as bullies.

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[1] "Don't wade through the river with your fortune in your pocket," is a Tyrolese proverb.

But this antipathy to the Prussian—which is after all only the dislike a person might have to the invasion of his boudoir by a very boisterous and unmannerly Newfoundland dog—does not extend to the Empire. The re-establishment of the German Empire was hailed alike by Protestants and Catholics, priests and laymen; and I believe the Chancellor was entirely mistaken in supposing that the Roman Catholic Church would prove a danger to the young Empire. He has made one or two great mistakes in his life. He is blundering now into a repressive warfare against Social-Democracy. His Kulturkampf was a greater error. Since 1871 I have been every year to Germany, and have talked with every sort of person, and have become more and more convinced that this was the case. A Roman priest said to me, "In 1871 we were all mad with joy; Catholics, Protestants, Jews,—it was all the same; we rushed into each other's arms, and swore *Bruderschaft;* we thought the millennium had come."

And there was reason why the Catholics in Baden at all events should hail Prussian supremacy. In 1806, by the Peace of Pressburg, the Margrave of Baden acquired all the lands of Austria between the Rhine and Danube to the Lake of Constance—lands thoroughly Catholic. At once every monastery was sequestrated, and turned into a barrack, or a brewery. In Protestant Germany there are many Stifte, old convents used for noble ladies, who live there comfortably as canonesses under an abbess. The religious character of these institutions is of course gone, but they remain as almshouses for the nobles, and the post of abbess has often been given to a discarded mistress of a prince. Thus the Countess of Königsmark was made abbess of Quedlimburg. In the Black Forest was an almshouse for peasants' daughters, at Lindenburg, in which Catholic old maids might end their days together, not taking monastic vows, but living together near a chapel, and with gardens and meadows belonging to the institution. So persistently has the Baden Government worried the Catholics who have come to the Grand Duchy, that even this very harmless institution was suppressed in 1869; and now it remains untenanted and falling into ruin. At the very same time, as if to add insult to injury, a Protestant "Stift" was founded for noble Evangelical ladies, nine miles off, at Freiburg, in a city where, before 1806, there had not been a Protestant. Indeed, since 1806 the Catholic Church in Baden has been harassed in every way possible by the Government, though the proportion in every 100 persons in Baden is 64·5 Catholics to 33·6 Protestants. In 1852, when the late Grand Duke died, the Archbishop of Freiburg was ordered to have high Requiem Mass for his soul in the Cathedral. He declined, on the grounds that this was not possible, as the Grand Duke was a Protestant, and the Catholic Church only allowed masses for the souls of its members: but he offered to hold a solemn service of mourning, and to preach a panegyrical sermon on the sad occasion. This was the origin of a series of petty persecutions to which the Roman Church in Baden was subjected till 1871. When the Archbishop died, in 1868, and the chapter sent in eight names to the Grand Duke for him to choose among them, he tore up the list, and bade the chapter elect again. A second list met with the same fate, and since then the see has been without bishop recognised by the State, *i.e.* for ten years. It may well be imagined that Baden Catholics could feel no very warm enthusiasm for their Government, which had incessantly worried them since they had been handed over to an insignificant Margrave blown into a Grand Duke by Napoleon I.

The Baden Catholics drew a long breath in 1871, and hoped that in a mighty Empire they might receive more generous treatment than in a petty principality. In Würtemberg the Catholics are in a minority. Before 1806 they were under Austria or Catholic "immediate" princes; but Napoleon, to reward the Duke of Würtemberg for treason to the cause of Germany, forcibly annexed them to his Duchy, and gave the Duke a royal crown. Out of 100 persons 30·4 are Catholic, and 68·7 are Evangelical. The Catholic Church is not allowed much liberty. It is part of the Roman system to use monasteries and convents for the advance of religion; and in Würtemberg, by law of 1862, religious orders and congregations are only allowed to settle or be formed subject to the risk of expulsion at a few days' notice. As a matter of fact, there are in Würtemberg only 232 sisters of mercy, tolerated, not recognised, by the Government, and 144 sisters of other orders.

Bavaria does not comprise people of one blood like Würtemberg. It embraces Bavarians proper (the Bojars, a Slav people originally), Franconians of Würzburg, Bamberg, and Aschaffenburg given it in 1806, and Swabians, formerly under the rule of little princes, on the east of the Iller. The proportion among 100 persons in Bavaria is 70·5 Catholics to 27·5 Protestants. Bavaria is a contented little kingdom, and there was no religious reason for opposition to the Empire. The King was more dreaded than the Emperor. He coquetted with the Alt-Katholics, supported Döllinger, and when Pius IX. died, showed his animus by forbidding the bells of the churches in his realm being tolled to call the Catholics to pray for their departed Pontiff.

In Prussia the Roman Church enjoyed complete liberty. She looked on America and Prussia as her happy hunting fields. The conciliatory spirit manifested by the Government had the most happy results in completely securing the loyalty of Westphalia, the Rhenish provinces, and Silesia. Indeed, South Germans looked with some suspicion on the Catholics of the North, and it was a common saying among them that these latter were "Prussians first, Germans next, and then Catholics."

All at once a bolt fell out of the blue sky. On July 4, 1872, the Emperor William signed at Ems a law expelling the Jesuits and their affiliated orders from the German Empire.

On May 20, 1873, it was announced by the Chancellor that the

Redemptorists, Lazarists, the Congregation of Priests of the Holy Ghost, and the Society of the Sacred Heart, were included in this condemnation.

On February 6, 1875, a law was signed which withdrew registration of births and burials from the clergy, and placed it in the hands of officers of the State, and also made civil marriage compulsory.

On February 26, 1876, an addition was made to the penal code of the Empire drawn up in 1871, which made the clergy amenable to punishment for uttering any expression in public, or for printing anything, which imperils the public peace.

These are the only ecclesiastical laws affecting the *Empire*, but a whole string of laws has been enacted, first in Baden, and then in Prussia, applicable to both these States—in Baden in 1869, two years later in Prussia. "Fiat experimentum in corpore vili."

On July 8, 1871, the ministry of the Catholic religion in the Kingdom of Prussia was suppressed, and one ministry of religion was constituted for Catholics and Protestants.

On March 15, 1873, the office of Chaplain-General in the army for Catholics was done away with. Other acts were passed to give petty annoyance; but those of May, 1873, were more serious.

The law of May 11 requires that no priest shall enter on a cure of souls who has not passed through examination in a German gymnasium, spent three years in a German university, and passed an examination in three faculties, of which theology shall not be one. It forbids candidates for orders residing in a college together whilst studying in the university.[1] It forbids the opening of new schools, and the taking of fresh pupils into the old schools for candidates for the ministry. It requires the Ordinary to announce to the State the nomination to a cure of souls, and provides that, in the event of a bishop appointing a priest who has not his Government certificate, he shall be fined from 600 to 3,000 marks (30*l.* to 150*l.*).

There are other provisions, but these are the most important. On December 6, 1873, a law was passed requiring the bishops, before recognition by the State, to take an oath of obedience to these laws.

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[1] Protestants are allowed to live in the Johanneum at Berlin, and the college of the same name at Breslau, and the Evangelical College at Leipzig.

On May 21, 1874, additional provisions were added, making it penal for a priest to exercise any religious function, unless he has his ticket of qualification from the State, and authorising the parish or State to appoint a priest to a vacant cure of souls, without the consent of the bishop, should he nominate contrary to the law.

By law of February 18, 1876, the religious instruction given to Catholic children in schools is subjected to the supervision and approval of the State. Other laws affecting the Catholic Church have been passed, but they are of less immediate interest and importance.

The western porch of the cathedral of Strassburg is enclosed within two gables, one within the other. The inner gable is surmounted by a statue of the Emperor, and on the stages or crockets are figures of bears and lions. Outside this gable, spiring airily aloft, is another, surmounted by the figure of Our Lord, and the stages of this gable are occupied by angels with expanded wings. The inner structure represents the Imperial power resting on and sustained by brute force. The outer is the symbol of the spiritual power reposing on free intelligences and unfettered wills. It would have been well had the Imperial Chancellor taken a look at this frontal before passing the May laws, and attempting to crush a spiritual empire within one military and bureaucratic.

Why was the Kulturkampf undertaken? This is a question often asked, and answered in different ways. That Ultramontanism is a danger to the Empire is the usual explanation; but proof is not producible. The evidence is not forthcoming for very good reasons. Ultramontanism can scarcely be said to exist in Germany And Ultramontanism, even if it did exist, need not be in opposition to the Empire.

Ultramontanism, as it is understood in France and Belgium, has never taken root in Germany. It was represented by the Jesuits, and when they were got rid of, Catholicism remained as a religion, but not as a political factor. In Prussia the Catholic population was thoroughly loyal. The Poles were in a state of chronic discontent, but they knew that they were better off under Prussia than their brethren under the Czar. There was no danger to be apprehended from them. Westphalian Catholics, and those on the Rhine and Mosel, in Osnabrück and Hildesheim, were well content to be no longer under episcopal Electors, and felt no gravitation towards France. They never lived under a reigning family, and had no dynastic loyalty, like the Würtembergers and Bavarians and Saxons. A sluggish sense of respect for the Hohenzollerns was warming into loyalty to a house and with a little nursing might grow into enthusiasm The real seat of disaffection and danger is Bavaria and Würtemberg, and these States are unaffected by the May laws.

Ultramontanism is an exotic, and will not take ready root in German ground. German Catholics are too sober and sensible to follow the excesses of a school which has mastered the Church in France. The bishops exhibited their feebleness at the Vatican Council, but not their subserviency to the Jesuits. And the Catholic clergy are German at heart, and moderate in their opinions. None are more ready to testify to this, as also to the purity of their lives, and their devotion to their calling, than the Evangelical pastors who are their next-door neighbours. "In village life," says the proverb, "every man sees into his neighbour's mouth;" and, it may be added, into his neighbour's heart as well.

Last Emperor's birthday was kept in a little South German village by there assembling, in the village inn, three Roman priests, two Protestant pastors, an English clergyman, the count whose castle was in the village, the notary, the apothecary, and some bauers. The health of the Emperor was drunk by all amidst patriotic speeches, and the evening passed amidst clouds of tobacco-smoke and the flowing of fresh beer, with the utmost cordiality. Every Sunday and festival sees these worthies—the Englishman excepted—hobnobbing together. Catholic priest and Protestant pastor, Conservative Graf and Liberal apothecary, argue and laugh and dispute and shake hands year in year out. Is this a nursery of Ultramontanism? In France the priests are debarred by their bishops from joining in social gatherings, lest they lose the narrowness laboriously contracted in the seminaries, and widen into good-fellowship with all men by association. Englishmen have lost all prejudice against Moslems and Hindoos by mixing with them, and German Protestant pastors and Catholic priests are hail-brother-well-met! because they smoke and drink together at least once a week.

Ultramontanism does exist in Germany, but it is entirely the fruit, the creation, of a meddling and muddling policy on the part of the Governments.

The external organisation of the Roman Church in Germany was destroyed in 1803. The Catholic Church till then had been an established Church, with its bishops, abbots, canons, and clergy holding land, and enjoying rights and exercising a vote in the affairs of their country and the Empire. In 1803 the bishoprics, abbacies, chapters, were all secularised. The archbishopric of Mainz, which had been an independent principality since the time of Charlemagne, fell to Hesse-Darmstadt. Fulda, which had been ruled by an abbot-bishop since 751, was given to the Calvinist house of Nassau. Würzburg fell to Bavaria, so did Bamberg. In 1814 Cologne became Prussian, so also Trèves. It is needless to mention others. The result was that the Roman prelates and clergy were detached from the soil; they had lost interest of a practical kind in their country. The Protestant rulers over newly acquired Catholic populations consulted together in 1818 about a constitution for the Catholic Church in Germany. But in the interim between 1803 and 1818 irreparable mischief had been done. A Protestant church may be disestablished with tolerable impunity. It will become narrow and sectarian, but not anti-national, because it has no second centre round which to concentrate. But it is not so with the Catholic Church. The only means of making it national is to give it a footing on the soil, on which it can stand and make opposition to the Papacy. By cutting away this foothold the Roman clergy were precipitated into the arms of Rome, compelled to be Ultramontane. In 1817 Bavaria had concluded a concordat with the Pope which accorded extensive rights to the King,—the appointment to the bishoprics. Prussia and Hanover also negotiated directly with the Pope. From the close of the Thirty Years' war the German Catholic Church had manifested a markedly national and liberal tendency, and had maintained a persistent opposition to the encroachments of the Curia; but now, by the Protestant and Catholic governments negotiating directly with the Pope, instead of, as heretofore, treating with the bishops and clergy of Germany, as a National Catholic Church, they constituted him absolute over the German Church, and put the clergy unreservedly into his hands. Curialism gained ground. No provision had been made by the Governments for the diocesan rule being in accordance with canon law. The bishops were converted by the force of circumstances into creatures of Rome, and the clergy into creatures of the bishops. The Curia took care to make the bishop entirely dependent on its favour, and he in turn ruled his clergy as a body of serfs. Can any one believe that the bishops and parochial clergy hailed this change? That it was acceptable to them to be transformed from a state of established independence into curates totally dependent on the Curia at Rome?

If in Germany Ultramontanism exists, the State has only itself to thank for it. The German Church used to hold its synods and councils. It does nothing of the sort now. The clergy have no more a voice in the arrangements of the diocese than servants have in the arrangements of a household. If they displease the bishops, they can be crushed. If a bishop offend the Curia, he may have his privileges withdrawn, so that he remains but a bishop in name. A system of faculties has been contrived which are granted to a bishop who stands well with the Curia; but should he be out of favour they are withdrawn, and his authority, power, and influence in his diocese are paralysed. He is a bishop unable to execute his episcopal functions among his flock, and a bishop "in partibus" is sent by the Pope into the diocese to discredit him with his people, and minister to them in his room. It was by threatening the withdrawal of these rights, that some of the bishops most opposed to the dogma of Papal infallibility were forced to yield. Yet, in spite of all that has been done by the State to squeeze the clergy into Ultramontanism, I do not believe that more than one out of ten is an Ultramontane of the Belgian and French type; I believe that till Prince Bismarck passed the May laws, the vast body of the clergy were well affected to the Imperial Government. If four out of ten are Ultramontanes now, it is because the Chancellor has made them so. In the Middle Ages an outcry was raised against the Jews for poisoning the wells, and they were hounded down and burnt alive. Yet it was the Christians as much as they who poisoned the wells with their sewage. If in Strassburg, Ulm, and Mainz, the Christian citizens did that wherewith Sennacherib threatened the Jews, and suffered for it, they were wrong in laying the blame on the Hebrews.

instead of looking at their own drains. Prince Bismarck and his followers are making the same mistake. It is the German Government which by its short-sighted and blundering policy has poisoned the wells, and not the unhappy Catholics whom they are persecuting. Till recently, the clergy have never been politicians in Germany, any more than the bauers. All they have asked for has been to be let alone

It was well to banish the Jesuits—a body of men without fatherland, national sympathies, and moral scruples, careful only for the welfare of the Society of Jesus, and the restoration of the Temporal Power.

When the Empire of Germany was offered to William of Prussia, Cardinal Ledochowsky, as the mouthpiece of the Jesuits, went to the new Emperor, and asked him if he would assist in the restoration of the Temporal Power. When the Jesuits learned that Germany would not lend itself to this, they were prepared to help on any combination which might give back to the Pope his temporal crown, German unity being sacrificed, if need be, to obtain it. It may be a matter of curiosity to some to know why Jesuitism should be so eager on this point. The reason is simple enough. Unless the Pope rules in Rome as a sovereign, Jesuits exist in Rome and about his ear only on sufferance. At any moment the Italian Parliament might pass an act expelling them from the country; and then, unless they could drag the Pope off with them, their hold on the reins of the Catholic Church would be lost. Odin had his two ravens, Hugin and Mugin, inspiring him, by whispering dreams into his ear. The Jesuits are the Hugin and Mugin of the Supreme Pontiff. If the Chancellor had confined himself to the expulsion of the spawn of Loyola, only a handful of women, Poles, and converts would have bewailed them. Priests and bishops, while ostentatiously protesting, would have rubbed their hands in secret. The Jesuits are the spies of the Roman Curia, and no man likes to have all his movements watched by keepers or detectives. Every man has felt the unpleasant sensation produced by an eye fixed on him for a protracted period, and however kindly disposed the observer may profess himself to be, his room is preferred to his company.

Unfortunately, the ecclesiastical legislation of May, 1873, has played the game into the hands of the Jesuits, as we shall presently see.

The Kulturkampf has by some been represented as a war for education and culture against ignorance and superstition. It may be so, but that was not the object for which it was declared. If we look at the educational statistics of Germany, we do not find that the Catholics fall short of the Protestants in education. If the Government were anxious that the clergy should attain a high standard of culture, it was an odd way of exhibiting this anxiety by banishing the religious orders, which contain the most highly cultivated and intellectually acute members of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and those who laboured at and devoted their lives to education. In Bavaria, it was only in 1817 that the orders were allowed to occupy their monasteries and convents, and by 1874 the number of religious houses they possessed was 620 (96 of monks and friars, 524 of nuns and sisters of mercy). Between 1870 and 1874 as many as 66 new convents had been established. Of all the houses only 2 per cent. belonged to contemplative orders. As many as 209 were institutes for nursing the sick, with 1,322 members; and there were 18 societies with 331 schools, and 4,006 members—*i.e.* 64·9 per cent. of all religious—engaged in education. In 1873 the Dames Anglaises numbered 1,167 members, and 70 qualified lay teachers engaged in education. They had 72 schools, with 2,800 boarders and 13,790 day scholars, also 2,040 children in orphanages; in all 18,530 children. In all Germany there were, in 1873, as far as can be estimated, 19,434 monks, nuns, friars, and sisters of mercy.

	Men.	Women.
In Prussia (1873)	1037	3011
„ Bavaria (1873)	1074	5054
„ Saxony (1875)	none	92
„ Würtemberg (1873)	„	376
„ Baden (1873)	„	349
„ Hesse (1874)	89	314
„ Elsass-Loth. (1873)	418	2650
Total	2568	16,846

Of these, the vast majority were devoted to education, or nursing the sick. Those nursing the sick are allowed provisionally to remain, but all teaching orders have, in Prussia, Baden, and to some extent in Bavaria, been disbanded and forced to leave the country.

I shall presently give the story of one society thus suppressed, and the reader will see how the law has been, in many cases, carried out.

The real purpose of the Kulturkampf has been, I conceive, centralisation. It has not been waged against the Roman Church only, for the same process has been followed with the Protestant Churches. It was intolerable in a strong centralising Government to have a Calvinist and a Lutheran Church side by side, and both to call themselves Protestant. It interfered with systematic and neat account-keeping of public expenditure for religious purposes. Consequently, in 1839 the King of Prussia suppressed Calvinism and Lutheranism, and established a new Evangelical Church on their ruins, with constitution and liturgy chiefly of his own drawing up. The Protestant Churches of Baden, Nassau, Hesse, and the Bavarian Palatinate have also been fused and organised on the Prussian pattern. In Schleswig-Holstein and in Hanover existed pure Lutherans, but they, for uniformity's sake, have been also recently unified and melted into the Landeskirche of Prussia.

A military government cannot tolerate any sort of double allegiance in its subjects. Education and religion, medicine and jurisprudence, telegraphs and post office, must be under the jurisdiction of the State. The Prussian mind, trained under a military system, cannot understand freedom as it is understood in England, least of all the idea of a free Church. In a military empire every man is a soldier, and everything concerning him is subjected to military supervision. The State looks after his mind, his bowels, and his soul; it must accredit the doctors or trainers for all three. The State so far bends to circumstances as to allow men to be Poles, Prussians, or Saxons by blood, and to be Catholics, Protestants, or Jews by profession, just as it acknowledges three arms, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. As every male infant is an embryo soldier, and every female babe a prospective mother of soldiers, they must be registered by State functionaries, educated by State functionaries, married by State functionaries, and shovelled out of the world by State functionaries. No man is a free agent, for every man is a soldier. He must be drilled by State corporals on week-days, and preached to by State chaplains on Sundays. The State takes charge of his digestion and conscience. He is forbidden green gooseberries at Whitsuntide, and fresh spiritual diet at any time.[1]

From the point of view of a military despotism, the May laws are reasonable and necessary. As Germany is a great camp, the clergy, Protestant and Catholic, must be military chaplains amenable to the general in command. Military organisation, military discipline, and military obedience are exacted and expected in every department. A soldier cannot escape a duty because it disagrees with his liver, nor can a parson shirk doing what the State imposes because it disturbs his conscience. I have no doubt whatever that this is the real explanation of the Kulturkampf, and that all other explanations are excuses and inventions. Prince Bismarck no doubt hates the Pope, not because he cares a straw about religious principles and doctrines, but because the Pope is a power interfering with Imperial absolutism and military dictatorship. The Catholics are welcome to their tinsel and bones and masses, just as the Bavarian contingent is allowed blue facings, and the Brunswickers black, but the Pope and bishops must exercise no more real authority over priests and people than the King of Hanover or the Duke of Brunswick. The Chancellor, when he began the crusade, had probably no idea of the opposition he would meet with, and when the opposition manifested itself, it irritated him, and made him more dogged in pursuing his scheme. The State had met with little or no opposition in unifying the Protestant Churches, and making the mutually antipathetic Calvinism and Lutheranism merge their differences at the bidding of the Crown, and Prince Bismarck supposed he would meet with as little resistance from the Catholics. German Protestantism is so radically Erastian that the German mind is incapable of understanding the existence of a conscience which distinguishes between the things that be of God and of Cæsar. The theory of the Church as a spiritual body and not as a mere establishment has always lived in the Anglican Communion. Indeed this theory has taken such a strong hold of the English religious mind that it has forced bodies of Christians to leave the Established Church, rather than allow their consciences to be directed by a purely secular authority such as the Crown or Parliament. Dissenting communities have organized themselves as spiritual corporations absolutely independent of the State. But in Germany, religion has been a matter of mere State police. The people believe or disbelieve at the bidding of their princes. They have not been consulted as to their views or wishes, but have been given what worship and creed their rulers have affected, and as their rulers have changed their shibboleths, so have the people been required to screw their mouths. Lutheranism has never formed one Church, with uniformity of liturgy and ceremonial. In Nürnberg its churches are undistinguishable from Catholic churches, and are adorned with statues of the "Virgo immaculata," relics, shrines, crucifixes, tapers, and burning lamps;[1] in Norway and Iceland, with vestments, and wafers, and mass; in Würtemberg and Baden, the churches are bare as a music-hall. German religion, Catholic and Protestant, has been determined for the people by political circumstances. A village is Catholic if its feudal lord was of the ancient faith at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' war. If he accepted the tenets of Luther, his people were required to hold by the Confession of Augsburg; if he held by Calvin, to swear by the Institutes; and those who refused were expelled their homes. Consequently, scattered all over Germany, we find Catholic and Protestant villages side by side, with no mingling of confessions in them; and the idea is so impressed on the people that a change of faith is a political impossibility, that such an event as a conversion from one form to another is almost unknown. The peasants of Schöndorf are Catholic to-day to a man, because, in the fourteenth century, the village was bought by a Bishop of Bamberg. The bauers of Bettberg are Lutheran, because in the twelfth century, by a marriage, their forefathers passed as serfs to the Margrave of Baden. The inhabitants of Blaubach are Calvinists, because the Count of Starkemburg embraced the reform of Geneva. As the lord of the land believed or disbelieved, so all his vassals were forced to believe or disbelieve also.

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[1] If a Protestant officer—say a lieutenant—should enter a Catholic church during service, and his superior officer were to hear of it, he would be reprimanded; and if he repeated the offence, punished. And so if a private or officer who is registered in the roll as a Catholic, attends Protestant worship, he subjects himself to reprimand and punishment. He is not sticking to the regulations.

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[1] In St. Sebaldus, the perpetual lamp is still kept burning before the tabernacle, which, however, is empty; and the sixteen altars are spread with clean linen for daily mass, which is never said.

Very probably the Chancellor reckoned, when he began the Kulturkampf, on the Old Catholic movement becoming more general than it has. There is no doubt but that, on the promulgation of the decree of Papal infallibility, there was a great agitation of spirits among German Roman Catholics. The surrender by the bishops awoke universal disappointment, and the Alt-Katholic movement for a moment threatened the Church with a serious disruption. But the moment passed. The German mind abhors schism. Germany has suffered too much from being broken up into petty States to view petty sects with complacency. Consequently Methodism, Anabaptism, and other forms of Dissent have made no way in Germany.

If the bishops had risen to the occasion, protested their inability to receive the decree of the Council, and left the Pope to take what further proceedings he chose, they would have carried all Catholic Germany with them. Their submission unsettled for a moment the consciences of educated Catholics, and some readily joined the new sect that absurdly called itself by an old name. Prince Bismarck probably knew that the parish priests were almost to a man anti-infallibilists, and disliked the political Catholicism of the sons of Loyola. But he did not know with what horror a Catholic regards separation from the centre of unity.

The schism of Ronge, entitled the "German Catholic Church," which rose as a rocket in 1845, came down as a stick before 1850; and the experiment was not worth repeating. Few priests joined the movement, and those who did were either men of learning who exercised no influence over the common people, or men of strong passions who wanted wives; and the vulgar speedily took the measure of their sincerity. Among the laity, Old Catholicism has made recruits from those Catholics who wanted to marry Protestants, and who could not do so in the Roman Church, which set her face against mixed marriages;[1] or from those who want to shake off their religious responsibilities, but do not care for the chill of Evangelical Protestantism. But the largest number of converts to Old Catholicism were made from the class of *Beamten*—

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[1] Unless a written agreement be drawn up that *all* the children shall be brought up Catholics.

Government officials. Herr von Mallinckrodt said in the House of Deputies (January 30, 1872):—"You all know that in Prussia Catholics have not far to go to discover that offices of importance in every department are not given in fair division to them. Show me among the Ministry a single person who is not Evangelical. Look further among the under-secretaries, among the councillors—you must light a lantern to find one. Go into the provinces, seek among the chief judges, among the second judges of the law courts: you will not find one. Go further among the functionaries of Government, among the Landräthe, go to the universities, to the gymnasiums, count how many among the officials there are Catholic, and then compare the proportion with that of the Catholic population!" That this is by no means overstated I can bear testimony from having lived in a town which before 1807 had not, probably, a Protestant living in it. The troops garrisoning it are commanded almost entirely by Protestant officers. On the Emperor's birthday a brilliant array of staff-officers and generals attended the Evangelical Church, at the head of a handful of soldiers, whilst the great bulk of the troops were at the minster under a few lieutenants. The chief judge and his assistants are Protestants, the schools are given Protestant masters, and the university professors of the same confession.

Professor von Schulte says, in an article in the "Contemporary" for July, 1878, "Protestant officials in all influential posts became the rule. Provincial and governmental chiefs, head magistrates, etc., were all Protestants. The Rhenish provinces had not one, Westphalia only one Catholic president; from 1815 to the present time scarcely half-a-dozen Catholic Ministers have been chosen; the number of councillors in the Government, the superior courts, etc., has never been anything like in proportion to the adherents of the two creeds among the population. The appointment of Protestant officials in Catholic districts, in courts of justice, etc., was, up to 1840, almost carried out as a system; an immense majority of officials of all grades were Protestants. It was carried so far that a vast number of Protestant gendarmes, apparitors, and other sub-officials, who have to be chosen from disabled soldiers, were brought from the Eastern provinces to Westphalia. . . . The circumstance that, in many cases, going over to Protestantism opened the way to a career, and *vice versâ*, produced a great effect."

A friend of mine, the member of an old noble Catholic family, was brought up by his father as a Protestant because he destined him for the Prussian army, and was well persuaded that if his son was a Catholic he would stick among the lieutenants.

The "Beamten" have not been slow to perceive that there was no advancement for Catholics, and the Alt-Katholic schism offered them a convenient loop-hole for putting themselves on a better footing with the Government, and opening out to themselves prospects of advancement. They were not disposed to abandon their faith, but they were not willing to let their creed stand as a barrier to their worldly prospects. But they have not gained much by becoming Alt-Katholics. The schism has proved itself a dismal failure. It is regarded with dislike by Romanists and with contempt by Protestants. Many "Beamten," finding old Catholicism does not help them on in office, have grown lukewarm in their profession of it, and have their children instructed by Roman Catholic teachers, and only await a favourable opportunity for slipping back into the Church of their fathers.

It would have been well if some of our Anglican Bishops, Deans, and Canons who have shaken hands with Old Catholics had studied them a little at home before taking them to their hearts with such effusion. Now that Leo XIII. shows a readiness to adopt a conciliatory policy, the position of the Alt-Katholics is becoming unreasonable. The only parish in Bavaria which followed the movement in 1872 returned to the unity of the Catholic Church in 1877.

In the spring of 1878 I spent some weeks at Klein-Laufenburg, in Baden, divided by the Rhine from Gross-Laufenburg in Aarau, but connected with it by a bridge. In the Swiss town is a large and stately church; in the Baden suburb a little chapel capable of holding 150 persons. Gross-Laufenburg was given to Switzerland in 1803. It had previously belonged to Austria. The inhabitants are all Catholics. But the Aarau government, like that of Berne and Solothurn, is pleased to suppose that Old Catholicism is the legitimate successor of the Church before the Vatican Council, consequently it had displaced all the Roman Catholic priests and filled their cures with Alt-Katholics. I went to church on Sunday and was puzzled—not knowing the circumstances—to find the congregation numbered twenty, and was made up of the gendarmes, post-office, custom-house, and other Government officials. The service was conducted precisely as in a Roman church, and the Pfarrer preached a most admirable sermon. Next Sunday curiosity took me to the chapel at Klein-Laufenburg. It was a rainy day. The whole town was flowing over the bridge in a thick current to the little chapel. It was crowded, and the churchyard and road were filled with worshippers under umbrellas, kneeling in the mud. In winter, I was told, the inhabitants of the town are willing to stand in the snow and bitter frost to hear mass outside the Baden chapel rather than attend their parish church, where precisely the same service, identical in every minute detail, is conducted by a priest out of communion with Rome, but enjoying the sanction and support of the State.

If ever a religious community bore on its brow the evidence of being death-struck, it is that of Old Catholicism. I have attended the services often, and have been struck by the deadness which hung about them. Catholic children, when brought to attend Alt-Katholic churches, rapidly lose their old habits of reverence and devotion, and the rod of the schoolmaster has to take the place of interior piety to maintain them within the bounds of propriety. Their elders, who as Roman Catholics never missed attending mass on Sundays and festivals, fall into listless indifference and go to church occasionally, after a while not at all. But it is chiefly on children that the deteriorating effect is noticeable. And this is not to be wondered at. Old Catholicism is simply a controversial religion. The sermons I have heard have been anti-Papal, or self-vindicatory. It is an unwholesome atmosphere in which to rear the young. It is a vicious one for adults to inhale. It is not conducive to true religion to go to church to hear the Pope, or the Curia, or the bishop of the diocese, or the diocesan chapter, or the Catholic clergy pecked at. Charity and edification should be found in the temple, not spite and scurrility. In a large church where during Lent, the Alt-Katholic pastor preached a series of sermons against the Archbishop to a crowded congregation, at Easter he had just three communicants. In number the Old Catholics are declining. In 1877 there were in Germany 53,640; in January, 1878, only 51,864. In one year in Bavaria the numbers have fallen off to the number of 1,305, and since then the parish of Mering has abjured its Alt-Katholicism. The same declension is observable in the list of Old Catholic priests, which at the beginning of 1878 contained only fifty names, as against fifty-five in 1877, and of these one has since been dismissed for immorality. Dr. Tangermann and Dr. Friedrich, Professors Langen and Menzel, have also since resigned their connection with the movement. The number shows few recruits except from men who will do no credit to the Church.

But to return from this digression.

The law of civil registration has not harassed the Catholics, and they were ready to submit to it without objection. But the law whereby the State takes the education entirely into its own hands has affected them more seriously.

The Christian Brothers, Xavierian Brothers, Ursulines, and other educational societies, had in their hands the instruction of most Catholic children in towns. These orders were abolished on May 31, 1875, along with every other religious community in the Roman Church, except the Nursing Sisters of Mercy, who are allowed to linger on till the State is supplied with its official staff of hired nurses, when voluntary charity in the hospital will also be dispensed with.

The new Government schools are not without religion. On the contrary religious teaching is compulsory; the Jewish rabbi, the Protestant minister, and the Catholic priest, have access to them, and give instruction on doctrine and morals in the class-rooms. But they do so only as State professors of theology, holding their testimonial of efficiency and licence to teach from Government. They are as much State functionaries as the masters of gymnastics and geometry. And by order of the Minister of Religion, dated February 16, 1876, the instruction of Catholics in their religion has been subjected to strict supervision; the object being to provide that the pupils be not taught that there is any division in their allegiance. To their "spiritual pastors and masters" they are only to owe obedience if these are furnished with Imperial licence to rule over them in matters of conscience.

That the Government has acted well in taking into its own hands the education of its sons, admits not of a doubt. It were well indeed for England if the Government would sweep away the wretched "Academies for Young Gentlemen" and "Collegiate Institutes," in which the sons of the middle classes receive their training, and were to establish middle schools as well as parochial schools for poor children. The German Gymnasia are admirable: an excellent education is given at a ridiculously low cost; and the teaching in the Lyceums is far better and much cheaper than in many of our grammar-schools. Some of the establishments conducted by the religious orders were no doubt admirable, but others were inferior, and all were under no supervision. In Hungary, horses are taught to step high by having spectacles put on their noses magnifying pebbles into rocks and straws into tree-boles. The objectionable feature of these schools was, that the great object of the teachers was to put moral spectacles on their pupils, and make them prance through life.

But the law that has aroused greatest opposition is that which affects the education of the clergy, as it is so contrived as effectually to cut off the supply.

According to the decree of the Council of Trent, boys destined for the ministry of the Church are taken from home and trained together in a "Little Seminary." When they have passed through this school, they migrate to the "Greater Seminary," where they live together in college, and attend the theological faculty in a university, or, if there be no university in the place, study with their own professors.

The Seminary system is a bad one. The candidates are secluded from association with all save their comrades: they are not exposed to contact with the current of modern thought, and never enter thoroughly into the national life.

Many years ago an exhibition of "industrious fleas" attracted sight-seers in the Strand. The industrious fleas went through many surprising performances in a dull mechanical manner. But the most remarkable feature about them was that they never jumped. It was explained that they were trained under thimbles. Whenever they bounded, they banged their heads against the walls of the thimble, and incurred headaches. After a week or two they abandoned jumping, and were ready to toil in treadmills and drive coaches as their master ordered for the rest of their natural lives, without dreaming of taking a header and making their escape.

The seminaries have been the thimbles under which the industrious fleas of Holy Church have been reared, and made creatures of routine, under which all mental elasticity is lost. Auerbach, in his "Ivo der H'erli," gave a sketch of the narrowing, independence-killing course of education in the seminary; but it might be objected that Auerbach as a Jew drew on his imagination, and could not know of the course by experience. But several Catholic writers have protested against it.[1] A Catholic priest thus sums up the results of the seminary system:—"Even the economic arrangement of the institution leads to bad results. No privacy. One room for common play, one for common work. In the dormitories no stove—nowhere a corner where a man may be alone and work for himself, or rest himself. Manliness, which the youth is putting on, and which gives dignity to morality and piety, self-respect and reverence for the priestly vocation, all are wanting. Bigotry, cant, hypocrisy, servility, are the natural fruit of such an institution, and the nobler spirits note with sorrow how that coarse and stupid comrades push ahead of them by an affectation of piety and grovelling servility. When the alumniate is over, the seminarist goes forth heartless and mindless, to be the comforter and teacher and friend of humanity."[2] This is no doubt not applicable to all seminaries. It is the description of one in Breslau. But all labour under the same inherent defect, they cramp instead of enlarging the mind. To rectify this,—to give to the German Catholic clergy wider sympathies, more range of knowledge, and a more thorough experimental knowledge of human nature, the law of 1873 was passed. But Baden had attacked the seminary system before Prussia. In 1868 the Baden Government ordered that all boys in the Little Seminary should attend the public schools, and that the candidates for the priesthood of riper years in the Greater Seminary or "Convikt" should pass examination in three faculties in addition to theology, and spend three years in the university. It went further. It disqualified every priest from holding a cure of souls, who had been ordained since 1863, unless he submitted to examination by a State commission; and required every priest holding a charge to be re-examined by commissioners in his "'ologies" two or three years after ordination, and if he had not kept up his secular studies, to be dismissed from his pastoral cure. This last provision has, however, been withdrawn, and the Prussian law adopted, which requires examination in three secular subjects before ordination.

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[1] *Die Katholische Geistlichkeit im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.* Frankfort a. M. 1817. *Ueber zeitgemässe Bildung und Bildungsanstalten Katholischer Geistlichen.* Hamm. 1824. *Die Katholische Kirche, besonders in Schlesien* . . . . Von einem Katholischen Geistlichen. Altenb. 1827, &c.

[2] The last-quoted book, p. 34-5.

The instructions given July 26, 1873, by Dr. Falk, "Minister of Ecclesiastical, Educational, and Medical Affairs," on the manner of carrying out the law of May 11, requires that the three subjects shall be Philosophy, History, and German Literature. They provide:—

"A. *Philosophy*:—That the candidate shall have a satisfactory knowledge of the various systems of philosophy, and be so far acquainted with the history of Philosophy as to be able to give an intelligible account of the characteristics of the epoch-making systems, and of their relation to one another. He shall also have a close acquaintance with psychology and logic, and with those systems of scientific education which have influenced instruction and culture during the last two centuries.

"B. *History*:—That the candidate shall be possessed of a clear outline of the development of the history of the world, and be acquainted with the history of the last three centuries, especially with that of Germany, both in the broader and narrower sense of that word. It shall be seen especially that the candidate have a clear conception of the ruling and motive ideas in these periods, which affected both politics and civilisation. The future vocation of the candidate requires that he shall know ecclesiastical history, and that he shall be able to show what influence Religion and the Church exercised on civil life and national culture.

"C. *German Literature*:—In this department it must be ascertained that the candidate is acquainted with the inner developing forces and historic moments which conduced to arrest or advance German literature. The candidate shall be proved by examination to be not unacquainted with any important contributor to German national literature, especially during the last two centuries, and must be able to give an account of the drift of the most important classic works."

That this law tells hardly on the Church can be denied by no unprejudiced person. It is, moreover, scarcely fair, and therefore has the aspect of persecution. For this examination is imposed *only* on candidates for the ministry. It is not required of law and medical students. These latter are free to devote the three years of their university life to the study of their special subjects. But the Government requires the candidates for the priesthood to take up these subjects in addition to theology. The consequence is, that a theological student finds his time completely taken up with them, and his divinity studies have to be laid aside.

It is hard on the Church in another way. The education of a priest is now wholly taken out of the hands of the Church from his fifth to his twenty-fourth year. At the age of five, the boy destined for the ministry goes into the public school, and is drafted thence into the Lyceum, a Government grammar-school. He remains there till he is twenty, under tutors and professors appointed by the State; the teaching, where possible, made anti-Catholic.[1] Before leaving school he has to undergo examination before a Government commission; if he passes, he receives his ticket of discharge, or *absolutorium.* Then he is liable to military service. If he has issued from examination in the first class, he is entitled to serve one year instead of three. He becomes an *Einjähriger.* But he may postpone his military service till he has gone through his university course, and this is generally done. When the three years in the university are over, he goes into the army, and is drilled for a twelvemonth. As an *Einjähriger* he receives no pay, and has to find his own uniform and board and lodge at his own cost. When the year is over, the Church insists on his spending one year in a seminary, in converse with his own heart, and in theological studies. It was quite impossible for him to attend to these whilst at the university. Consequently, a candidate for the priesthood is made a burden to his parents for five-and-twenty years.

And the expense of training for the Church is increased fourfold by the compulsory closing of the Little Seminary and the "Convikt," which were boarding-schools and colleges for students. The Church is now forbidden to provide cheap lodging-houses for poor boys and men preparing for her ministry. A bauer in the country was formerly able to send his son to the town for education, as the cost was not great, when a couple of hundred boys lived together; and he did not shrink from doing so, knowing that his boy was under supervision, and in the charge of responsible persons. But he cannot do so now, as the seminary is closed. His son, were he sent to the Latin school, must be put in private lodgings, and be under no supervision out of school hours. I have been given the prospectus of a boarding-school of a Rev. Dr.—— who, before latitudinarianism was fashionable in the Protestant Church, was imprisoned and then expelled his cure for denying the Trinity and the Incarnation. He has now a large establishment for boarders, who attend the public schools, and live with him, and he takes care to educate them in his rationalism. This is allowed, but Catholics are not allowed to have boarding-schools for their boys. What is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. It was "excellent-right" for the Government to insist on boys, candidates for the ministry, attending the State schools; but to forbid the Church to open a "pension" for them out of school hours, in which they may be bedded and boarded at a cheap rate, is an injustice.

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[1] As in the teaching of history. I have by me a pamphlet of 112 pages (*Baden in den Jahren* 1852–77) of a decided anti-Catholic tendency: this was given away gratis to all the scholars in at least one Government school in which nine out of ten pupils were Catholics.

The "Convikt" was a college in which the theological students lodged and took their meals together, and where they met in chapel for common devotion. It was the only attempt made in Germany to follow the English college system. But the "Convikts" have been closed, wardens and pupils turned into the street, and the empty corridors, halls, and bedrooms left to the spider and the bat. The State will not allow the young man studying for the ministry to be under any moral and religious influences and restraints during his university career. He must lodge at a milliner's or a glove-shop, and dine at a tavern. This not only dissipates his religious impressions, but makes his university life expensive. As the Roman Catholic clergy are recruited almost wholly from the class of small farmers, the law of May 11 has cut off the supply at its source. The little bauer cannot bear the protracted expense. The great bauer will hardly deem the poor pittance of some 25*l.* to 30*l.* per annum offered to a priest a sufficient return for the great outlay of the education of a son for the Church.

The Church, moreover, may well complain that she is not allowed by the touch of her little finger to direct the studies and control the education of the young whom she desires to see minister at her altars. They are only handed over to her grudgingly at the age of four-and-twenty, but then they are men worth having, educated and approved. The seminary system encouraged the bringing up of youths for the priesthood who had no vocation for it, but who were forced into orders by their fathers. Only the very courageous could defy the wrath of their fathers, like Auerbach's "Ivo," when they were sure they were on a wrong path. One whose education had cost much money felt bound to adopt the profession, in the preparation for which, and disqualification for any other, this money had been spent. Consequently the Roman Church has suffered from the influx of men to whom their calling has been a burden, and who have executed their ministry without heart. This cannot occur now. All her priests will be self-devoted. Whether the results will be such as the State anticipates is, however, questionable. A candidate who goes through school, university, and army, retaining his purpose, must be a zealot. Now those who entered the ministry because destined for it by their parents have never proved to be bigots. They make tolerant, liberal-minded parish priests. But those who have devoted themselves, and gone through the ordeal imposed by the State, will be firebrands. The years between fifteen and twenty-four are, as every one knows who has to do with youths, seasons of exaltation of the imaginative faculties. They are the years of romance, of idealism. It is the period when God or woman occupies the throne of the heart, the period when, perhaps, the soul sees God as He is, and woman as she might be, but too often is not. A religious enthusiast, trained under a military system, which is ever hampering his pursuit of the object of his life, will nurture a hatred of the obstructive power. At the same time he will take the impress of the system, and will carry into the Church the idea of absolutism as the only possible form of government. Trained under military dictatorship, he will view with contempt the roundabout methods of constitutionalism. He has it urged on him all his life that allegiance must be undivided, and when he becomes a priest, he will feel that he has passed into another army, and he will transfer his allegiance entire to his new superior the Pope. He has been taught that God and Cæsar, the Church and the Empire, cannot be served at once, and he will regard them as hostile principles and powers. He will view himself as pledged by his ordination to his new master, to wage unflagging warfare with the secular power which is anti-ecclesiastical and anti-Christian.

Again, the State examinations are conducted by Government commissioners, who may be, and generally are, Protestants, more or less broad, and certainly anti-Catholic, for the purpose of assuring the State that the candidate does not harbour reactionary political, philosophic, and religious views. He is catechised on burning questions, and chief attention is directed to the Reformation and the two subsequent centuries. A Catholic regards the movements of minds and principles in these three hundred years from altogether another point of view than that occupied by a Protestant. The State is determined to force every candidate to occupy this latter point, or it will cast him off, and refuse him a place in the pastorate of the Catholic Church. The inevitable result will be, that the candidate under examination will answer only as he is required, and will reserve his own opinions for expression elsewhere, and at another time. What other fruit can this system produce, save lying and dissimulation.

If the Government system be carried into effect, it will fill the Catholic Church in Germany with a priesthood as jesuitically minded as the sons of Loyola. It is rarely that a Jesuit has been trained in the seminaries ordered by the Council of Trent. The Jesuit has been recruited from the ranks of the army, and from men of high but not broad culture, who are psychologically incapable of entering into the movement of modern ideas. They are men whose brains have but one hemisphere, though that hemisphere may be a large one. They are born conservatives and bigots, as some men are born colour-blind or without musical ear.

The law of May 11 would not have killed, it would only have maimed the Catholic priesthood, and the German bishops and clergy would have submitted under protest.[1] But imperative orders came from Rome that a determined resistance was to be offered. Priests were not to submit to examination. Bishops were not to ordain certificated candidates.

The Jesuits were the authors of this injunction. The Jesuits never forgive an enemy, or fail to resent an injury. They had been expelled Germany, and their expulsion must be avenged. The temporal power will never be restored with the consent of the Empire. For the restoration of the temporal power, which will give them firm foothold on the steps of the Apostolic throne, they will dare and do anything. Their only hope, and that a forlorn one, is in France, in a future royalist or imperial France. They will leave no stone unturned to break down the Republic, and they will spare no effort to break up the Empire. Till the French Republic is supplanted by a despotism, Rome will never be wrested from Italy and restored to the Papacy. And till German unity has fallen to pieces, France will be unable to move the restitution of the temporal power.

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[1] In one archbishopric the majority of the curia voted for submission. There were, if the writer be correctly informed, only three dissentient voices.

But the Society of Jesus was powerless in Germany—how powerless none knew better than themselves—till the unfortunate law of May 11 gave them the lever. By its means, with an ingenuity that cannot but be admired, but also with an unscrupulousness that can only arouse abhorrence, they have been enabled in their banishment to do a thousand times more than they could have effected by their presence.

The German bauer is rough and hard—but, like the cocoa-nut, he has his soft points. Sigefried was made all horny in dragon's blood save where a linden leaf fell between his shoulders. A pretty hard and horny composition encases the bauer, but he is vulnerable in three spots: his pocket, his heart, and his soul. These are his three soft spots, like "the monkey's face" in the cocoa-nut. Unfortunately the Empire has run a gimlet into all three. The cost of the army has increased every year. This means enormously increased taxation and cost of living. The bauer with his small farm cannot stand this. The result has been a great increase of poverty: farms sold, and peasant yeomen reduced to penury. The proposed Government monopoly of tobacco will make his one solace in his troubles an expense to him which he cannot indulge in freely. Universal military service has broken up his family. When he needs his sons to work for him on the farm, they are taken away from him, and he has to hire labour and support his son in the barrack at the same time.

The young man cannot marry, for he cannot earn a livelihood till he has done with his three years' military service. Increased taxation and universal conscription have told on the statistics of marriage. In 1872, when the population was 41,000,000, the marriages were 423,900; in 1876, when the population was 42,000,000, they had sunk to 366,912. Military service, as a rule, obliges every man to put off marrying three years; as a youth only begins to work for his livelihood at twenty-three instead of at twenty, as formerly. There can be no question that the great increase of cost of living and taxation, and compulsory military service, have been severely felt in South Germany, and have made Prussia unpopular.

The May laws have been utilised by the Jesuits for bringing the iron of Prussian despotism into the very soul of the bauer. It is the law of May 11 that has emptied the episcopal thrones of Germany, and left many parishes void of pastors. A people groaning under increased burdens, with a budget like the horse-leech that cries ever, "Give, give!" with their families broken up, their business interrupted, their savings wasted by compulsory military service, are hardly likely to endure patiently the closing of their churches, and themselves condemned to marry and die without the ministrations of religion.

Let us see what the condition is to which the Roman Church has been brought in Germany.

When a parish priest dies, the bishop seeks to replace him; but the State will not allow one uncertificated to be instituted, and the Court of Rome forbids priests qualifying themselves by examination before the State. If the bishop appoints to the spiritual oversight of a vacant parish, as he sometimes does, the Government proceed against him, and he is fined or imprisoned; till at last, to escape perpetual imprisonment, he leaves Germany, and rules his diocese by letter from Rome, Holland, or Austria. He is then declared deposed, and the revenues of the see are placed by Government in the hands of a steward (*Verwalter*), to secure their not being forwarded to the exile.

If a bishop dies, no successor can be appointed, for no bishop would be elected by the Chapter, who would take the oath exacted by the State, and which requires promise of submission to the laws to which he is forbidden by Rome to bow.

Thus death or banishment has emptied all the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Prussia, except Culm, Hildesheim, and Ermeland.

The Archbishoprics of Köln, Trier, and Gnesen-Posen are vacated by deposition after imprisonment and fine.

So the Prince-Bishopric of Breslau, and the Bishoprics of Münster and Winburg.

The Archbishopric of Freiburg in Baden is left vacant by death; so also Mainz in Hesse, Fulda, Osnabrück, and Paderborn.

When a bishop dies the diocese is governed from Rome, that is, by the Jesuits, through certain accredited agents—in one archdiocese by a renegade Jew and a converted Protestant. The Roman Curia has no pleasure in seeing dioceses like Rottenburg and Passau at peace under their bishops. Whilst the bishop is in his throne, the Curia is kept out, at least from direct rule.

When a diocese is vacated by deposition, the Chapter are required to nominate a successor. This they refuse to do, as they do not regard the State as competent to deprive a bishop of his pastoral charge, though they do not deny that it may withdraw from him pecuniary grants.

When a diocese is vacated by death in Prussia the law of December 6, 1873, bars the way to its being filled. In Baden the Archdiocese of Freiburg has been for ten years without a pastor. The Chapter was required to elect a successor on the death of Archbishop Vicari in 1868. According to precedent a list of eight names was sent to the Grand Duke. He scored out seven, and sent back orders to the Curia of Freiburg to draw up another list of candidates more acceptable to the Government. Rome interfered and forbade the Chapter doing this; and since then the diocese has been without a chief pastor, managed by Rome through its agents in the local curia.

Full particulars of the spiritual destitution are not accessible, but the condition of several dioceses is known, and can be given as typical of the rest.

Dr. Brinkmann, Bishop of Münster, in Westphalia, was deposed by decree of the High Court of Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Obergerichtshof für kirchliche Angelegenheiten*) in Berlin on March 8, 1876, and lives in exile, along with his Vicar-General, Dr. Giese, who has fled the country to escape imprisonment. The episcopal palace is now occupied by the Government Verwalter, a Protestant, named Gedike. As the suffragan bishop is dead, since 1875 there have been neither confirmations nor ordinations in Münster. The

Chapter has lost by death its provost, dean, and a vicar choral. By January 1, 1878, seventy parishes, that is, more than 21 per cent. of the whole in the diocese, had lost their pastors. In thirteen of these there is no priest at all, and the sacrament has been removed from the churches, and the perpetual lamp extinguished. In these priestless parish churches, at the hour of mass the congregation assembles, the altar candles are lighted, the bell rings, and two servers in surplices kneel before the altar in silence, and the whole congregation spend an hour in reciting German eucharistic prayers.

Occasionally a *Gesperrter*, *i.e.* a priest unlicensed by the State, says a private mass in the sacristy, with locked doors, whilst the congregation attend in the church. A Gesperrter, were he to say mass or exercise any ministerial function in a church, or in a room to which the doors were not locked, would be liable to a fine or imprisonment.

Besides seventy parishes, there were also in 1878 three rectories and forty-nine curacies vacant. Moreover, the churches of the Jesuits, Capuchins, and the chapels of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, of the Visitation, the Poor Clares, etc., have been closed, and these served formerly the purpose of parish churches. Thus, including clergy of religious orders, 195 having cure of souls have vacated their cures by death or banishment. In the Archdiocese of Freiburg there fortunately remains a suffragan (*Weihbischof*). For having instituted to vacant incumbencies he has been several times had up before the court and fined. On refusing to pay the fine his lodgings have been entered by the gendarmes, and his poor little personal effects sold in the street before his door by public auction, till the sum of the fine was realized. It may well be imagined that such a proceeding is calculated to exasperate Catholic feeling against the Government. In this archdiocese, between November 1, 1876, and October 31, 1877, thirty-seven priests died, in the previous year thirty-two died; thus in two years sixty-nine vacancies have occurred; many churches are without pastors, and old incumbents are without curates.

In the Archdiocese of Cologne, out of 813 parishes, at the end of 1880 there were 199 vacant. In the diocese of Limburg, of 150 parishes, 30 are priestless. In the Prussian portion of the Archdiocese of Olmütz, 38 parish churches and 8 district churches, in all 46, are bereft of their pastors, and 125,000 souls are without the ministrations of religion. In the diocese of Paderborn, of 467 parish churches, 112, nearly a quarter, are vacant. In the diocese of Breslau (Prussian portion), of 753 parishes, 160 are without pastors; to these must be added 95 district churches vacant, making in all 255 vacancies. Ten churches, moreover, are filled with State-appointed Pfarrers, who have received no episcopal commission, and whose ministrations are refused by the parishioners.[1] There are 371,059 souls in these ten parishes. The number of souls without pastors in January, 1881, was half a million. In the diocese of Hildesheim 25 parishes were at the same date without incumbents; in this diocese there remain only 117 parochial clergy, of these 29 are aged over 60. The Cathedral Chapter has been reduced by death to four canons. At Fulda the Cathedral Chapter is represented by one old man. In the diocese of Posen, at the end of December, 1880, there were 129 vacant parishes; in that of Culm 44 are priestless; in that of Limburg there are 30 vacancies, leaving 45,500 souls pastorless. In Münster there are 111 pastorless parishes, with a population of 256,000 souls. In the diocese of Trier, out of 731 parishes, 240 are vacant, that is, about a third of the entire number, and a population of 150,000 souls is deprived of the ministry of religion. From this diocese the bishop is banished, and the dean and three canons and two minor canons have died since the beginning of the Kulturkampf. The Seminary is broken up by order of Government, and the "Convikt," or school for those preparing for orders, instead of containing 200 pupils as it did in 1871, contains now a single candidate. It was stated in the Prussian Assembly that in 1880 there were a thousand parishes without priests in Prussia.

A few examples from the newspapers of December, 1877, and January, 1878, will show how the May laws have been enforced on individuals.

The priest Melap, of Strälen, visiting his parents at Cleves, ventured to say mass one morning in the church. He was arrested by the gendarmes, and as he could not produce his ticket to show that he had passed the State examination, he was taken before the magistrates, and sentenced, on December 11, to pay fifty marks or undergo five days' imprisonment.

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[1] In 1877, in Gross-Strelitz, the Staatspfarrer Mücke was called to minister to three only of 140 Catholics who died. In Gross-Rudnos, among 200 births, the Staatspfarrer was required to baptise only seven: of these three were illegitimate children. Of 160 who died, he was required to bury only two. He blessed one marriage, and was not called in to administer the last sacraments in a single case. His congregation numbers from fifteen to twenty.

On December 20, the priest Hax, of Udenbreth, was fined twenty marks for performing some religious functions in the parish of Mürringen, void of pastor.

At Gorloczyn, in West Prussia, the curate Zielak was lodging with his brother last Corpus Christi day. On that festival he ventured to join the procession in surplice and stole, and read the Gospel at one of the stations. He neither said mass nor preached, but for simply reading in public a few verses of St. John's Gospel, without having been qualified to do so by the State, he was arrested, and on December 14 was fined fifteen marks.

December 14, the priest Block, of Schwetz, was fined 200 marks or two weeks' imprisonment for having performed religious services in the parish of Dittrichswalde, which is without priest.

In the same month the chaplain Löhers was sentenced to eight days' imprisonment or payment of fifteen marks for having conducted a procession to Werl on October 7, he being without his ticket.

In August last the police arrested the priest Czechowski, of Gryzyn, who is not State-appointed to the chaplaincy of the hospital at Kosten, having been told that he had visited the patients and ministered to them. But having no evidence on which to convict him, they proceeded to arrest the Sisters of Mercy who nurse the sick in the hospital. The sisters refused to give the required evidence, whereupon they were imprisoned. Two were kept in confinement nearly two months, the others ten weeks, and were released on December 14. Then the police took up Dr. Bojanowski, the physician attending the hospital, and on December 17 arrested his wife. On December 27, Frau Bojanowski, for refusing to give evidence, was fined 100 marks. On January 5, 1878, as Dr. Bojanowski refused to pay the fine, the police entered his house and sold his goods by auction, till the sum required was raised. A merchant bought the articles and at once restored them to the doctor. The same day Frau Bojanowski was again brought before court to be put on her oath to give evidence which might convict the priest. She again refused, and was fined again 100 marks, and on January 18 was threatened with a third fine of 150 marks.

At Hemm a man desired to marry his sister-in-law. The pair went to Dean Tesborn and stated their wish. Such a marriage can only take place by dispensation, as the relationship is within the forbidden degrees. The dean said they were to come again at the end of a fortnight, and when they did return he informed them that the difficulty was overcome, and he married them. Thereupon the police pounced on the bride and bridegroom and brought them before the court, to obtain from them evidence that the dean was in communication with Rome. If they could obtain this evidence, Dean Tesborn would be subjected to fine or imprisonment.

January 20.—The priest Nawrocki was convicted of having exercised pastoral charge of the parish of Gosciefzyn without licence from the State. He was sentenced to pay 1,620 marks or 162 days' imprisonment.

The story of the Marpingen vision is pretty well known. It is a German version of Lourdes—a case of delusion rather than of deception. The news of the Virgin having appeared to children naturally attracted crowds to the wood where the vision was supposed to have been seen. The State interfered, soldiers were placed round the wood, and access to it was forbidden. At the close of December a number of the inhabitants of Marpingen were arrested, brought before the magistrates, and fined various sums for having lodged and fed pilgrims visiting the scene of the supposed vision!

Instances of this sort might be multiplied.

In Germany the Stadtrath—the city corporation—has far more power than in an English town.

Auerbach, in his "Befehlerles," laments that a German functionary seems possessed with the idea that he is appointed by Government to overawe and bully the weak.

A town council is composed generally of very prejudiced men without the smallest conception of liberty, as it is understood in England, and with the largest ideas of their own importance. They issue proclamations ordering the killing of cockchafers in May and the cooping in of pigeons from March to June. They have the chimneys swept in every house, and the cesspools emptied at times that suit their agents, not the householders' convenience. Every dog and horse is had up before the proper authorities, examined and doomed or let live, without appeal. In political matters they nail their weathercocks in the direction whence the wind blows in higher quarters. What is done by Parliament is aped by the town council. Stadträthe are incapable of perceiving how far they ought to go in a certain direction and where they should stop. Consequently, in seeking to carry out the intentions of the Government, they very often embarrass it by exaggerated severity or ludicrous pettiness. In the way in which they have carried on the Kulturkampf they have done their best to bring it to a *reductio ad absurdum.*

Let us take a single instance.

When the Government dissolved the religious communities and charged itself with the education of the people, it acted with a certain amount of inconsistency.

No private school for boys is allowed to exist except for very young boys of the upper classes, whose parents object to sending them to the Volksschule, where they may bring away with them more in their heads than A B C. But with girls it is otherwise. Government does allow private schools, both day and boarding, for them, if the teachers have duly qualified themselves by receiving a Government certificate of competence. The State did *not* undertake the charge of female education; it simply abolished the religious schools conducted by orders in the Roman Church. The sisters were expelled their houses, their lands taken from them, and they were forbidden to wear an ecclesiastical habit. But they are still, in theory, allowed to teach, and open private schools —only these must be in hired houses, and the sisters may not live together in community. At Bruchsal, in January, 1878, the Ursulines were turned out of their house by the Stadtrath, their school broken up, and the members of the community were forbidden not only to reopen a private school in a hired house, but even to give lessons in music and French, so as to earn a livelihood. As they are obliged by the law to dress fashionably, they ought, in common fairness, to be allowed the privilege accorded to any dancing-mistress. At Constance the sisters have not yet been turned out of their Kloster; but they dare not admit new members into their community.

But the story of the Ursulines of Freiburg is the best example of the extremities to which the Dogberries of a German town council will proceed.

The Ursuline Society is one of the lightest in discipline. The sisters do not take life-vows, but only vows of obedience to the superior for three years. So hostile to the Catholic Church has the Baden Government been, that for the last eighteen years the Ursulines have not ventured to renew their vows. The Ursulines of Freiburg possessed a large convent with garden, vineyards, and meadows. For the last two hundred years they have kept a school for poor girls, which has been attended by a thousand children annually, whose parents paid for their education four marks, or a shilling a quarter. This sum, however, was paid over to the town council, which returned a part of it only to the sisterhood. This little sum did not suffice for the maintenance of the school, consequently the sisters established, about fifty years ago, a boarding-school for girls of a better class, and with them taught also day scholars of the same class. It was the proceeds of this school which supported the large and almost free one.

On July 1, 1877, the town took possession of the convent and appropriated the school buildings and all the fittings of the school, desks, blackboards, books, etc , as well as the furniture of the convent—beds, tables, wash-hand basins; also all the landed property of the sisterhood. The town surveyor roughly estimated this latter *alone* at 11,500*l*. It need scarcely be said that it was worth more. The convent and school-buildings were not valued. As compensation for this spoliation twenty of the sisters have been given pensions varying from 7*l*. 10*s*. to 20*l*. Two only receive 20*l*. The average is 10*l*. The superior has been accorded 30*l*. The town offered to allow the sisters to remain in the convent on condition that they should act as salaried schoolmistresses of the town, subject to dismissal at the will of the Stadtrath, and that they should receive among them such additional teachers as the town council chose to appoint; but as no guarantee would be given that these should not be Protestants or Jewesses, or of no religion, it was impossible for the Ursulines to accept conditions which would have broken up their community life. They declined, and were expelled their buildings, and were allowed to take with them only such articles as they could prove were the private property of each sister, brought with her into the convent, or for which she could produce a bill to show that it had been bought by her in her own name since she had been in the house. So grasping did the Stadtrath prove, that, after the superior had gone into private lodgings, and the sisters were dispersed to Austria, Switzerland, and France, a demand was made by the council for three articles which it charged her with fraudulently appropriating. These articles were an oil-painting she had found in the garret of the convent rolled up and much defaced, and which she had restored at her own expense; also a little pectoral cross given to her predecessor by the mother of the present Grand Duke, with a written request that she and her successors would always wear it; and, thirdly, a pair of drawing-room candlesticks, presented to the late superior on her birthday by some of the pupils of the upper school. The superior appealed to the Grand Duke, who coldly replied, that if the town chose again to insist on claiming these articles, he could not interfere. And there the matter remains at present.

The town council have also sent in a bill to the superior for all the expenses of the cultivation of the land, vineyards, gardens, etc., from May 7, 1877,[1] to the end of September, when the sisterhood cleared out of the buildings. That is to say, they are to pay for the cultivation of the land and vines, the crops of which were enjoyed by the town. This the superior has refused to pay, and the question is still undecided.

No sooner was the society expelled, than the superior, who retained two or three sisters with her, made formal demand for permission to continue her private day-school. Private girls'-schools are permitted, and there are several in Freiburg. But that of the Ursulines was regarded as the best by far, and Protestant pastors and Jews sent their daughters to it, in full confidence that their religious convictions would not be tampered with. Insult was added to injury. No notice was taken of the application.

For six months the pupils came, but the superior did not dare to form them into classes, lest she should make herself amenable to the laws, which forbid the opening of schools without licence.

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[1] The convent was suppressed on April 17, and from May 7 began the payment of the pension.

It was only when she had made personal application to the Grand Duke that a tardy permission was accorded her.

The suppression of the Ursuline school for poor children was not effected without monster demonstrations of indignation, and appeals against it were numerously signed, but treated as waste-paper by town council and Government alike.[1]

These acts of bigoted injustice unfortunately distract attention from the real grounds of the quarrel. The Catholics smart under present wrongs, and do not consider why it is that they are made to smart. If a flight is to be got out of a kite, it is not by jerking at its tail, but by pulling at it from a distance. If German Catholic opinion is worked into fury against the Empire, it will be by the Jesuits working the thread from afar.

It is said that Prince Bismarck is now desirous of conciliating the Catholics, to gain their support against the National Liberals. For this end mutual concessions will be made. Ultramontanism, as a political factor, is a creation of the Chancellor. He has made the existence of Catholics under the Empire intolerable to them, and they have combined to oppose his favourite measures. But Roman Catholics have no strong or radical prejudice against the Empire. They have suffered more in petty States than in great kingdoms, and under Grand Dukes far worse things than under Emperors. In spite of every attempt to excite the people made by the Jesuits, they have sat composedly expecting a change. They have felt that a great injustice has been done them, and that this will be recognised and redressed in the end. I was speaking to an old sacristan at Trèves when the bishop was in exile, and one of the parish priests in prison. "It will pass," he said. "Once the Mosel ran with Christian blood to Mehring, and afterwards Constantine gave his palace for a cathedral. Governments are like women; they don't know their own minds, and change humour daily. Massacre did not kill the Church fifteen hundred years ago, and nagging won't hurt her now."

Such, then, was the situation of affairs, such the state of conflict, up to February, 1880, when a remarkable concession was made in Baden: a compromise was effected, which there can be little doubt will in time be followed throughout Germany. It was in Baden—

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[1] The school, which cost the town nothing up to July 1877, cost the town 30,000 marks for the half-year ending Dec. 31, 1877.

so intimately allied with Prussia—that the first experiments were made in fighting the Catholic Church in the name of Modern Culture, and it is in Baden that a compromise has first been arrived at. For some time the Grand Duke has been dissatisfied at the condition to which the Kulturkampf had brought his Catholic subjects. He is reported to have said that the desolate parishes had cost him many tears. Even the Liberals began to feel that a huge mistake had been made, and in the Baden Chamber of Representatives in February, 1880, the intolerable restraints that had been placed on the clergy were swept wholly away. The old priests were no longer to be required to pass examination, nor the candidates for Orders to be subjected to examination by commissioners of the State before they were allowed to be ordained. The virtual Bishop is no longer to be fined or imprisoned if he appoints to vacant parishes; and on the other hand, the Pope has consented that all the clergy shall apply to the State for diplomas acknowledging them as Catholic priests recognised by the State in Baden and authorised to receive the temporalities of their cures. The Archbishopric of Freiburg is still vacant, in the eye of the State, but the people and clergy have long recognised as their spiritual head Dr. von Kübbel, elected in 1868, but twice refused by the Grand Duke. There can be little doubt that in time an accommodation will be arrived at on this point also. Meanwhile the Prussian Government stands by watching the result of this concession in Baden, disposed also to make terms, but not willing to even seem to be on the road to Canossa.

There has been much that has been right in principle in the Kulturkampf, but the way in which it has been carried out has been a great wrong.

It was right that the education of the country should have been taken under the supervision and control of the State. It was right that those destined for the priesthood should be given something more liberal than the seminary system.

But it was wrong that these measures should have been carried out with violence, petty persecution, and injustice. Injustice is wrong, even in a right cause.

CHAPTER XI.

PROTESTANTISM.

More light and light!—more dark and dark our woes.
Romeo and Juliet, act iii. sc. 5.

A LATE Esquire Bedell of Cambridge, who, for thirty years, had executed his office of convoying the Vice-Chancellor to St. Mary's Church to hear the University sermon, was wont to say, "For more than a quarter of a century I have heard every variety of doctrine preached in St. Mary's pulpit every Sunday and Saint's day throughout the year, and, thank God! I am a Christian still."

Till the year 1540, the Rhenish Palatinate was Catholic, but, under the Elector Otto Heinrich, it was forced to become Lutheran. Otto Heinrich died without issue, and the Electorate passed to the Simmern-Zweibrücken house. Frederick (III.) was as hot a Calvinist as his predecessor had been a Lutheran, and in 1565 the churches of the Pfalz were swept of their altars and crucifixes and images. The Lutheran pastors were ejected and exiled, and fiery-hot Predestinarianism was poured into the ears of the bewildered peasantry, who had not yet digested Justification. A remorseless persecution of those who held by the Augsburg Confession was carried out. But in 1579, Frederick was no more, and the Pfalz was again Lutheranised: the Calvinist preachers were banished, and the Evangelical returned.

In 1585 the Palatinate was again purged of Lutheranism, and reformed after the pattern of Geneva. In the Thirty Years' war it fell into the hands of the Imperialists and was Catholicised again. Then, again, it reverted to the Elector and was re-Calvinised. Reckoning the changes of religion effected by the varying fortunes of the war, the Palatinate passed through *ten* changes in less than a century. Verily, the bauers must have thanked God that they remained Christian still. Much the same sort of thing occurred in other parts of the Empire. When the prince changed his faith, he made his people change also. Idstein was converted summarily to Lutheranism by Count John of Nassau. After the defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen, it was given to the Elector of Mainz, and became Catholic. After the Peace of Westphalia it reverted to the Count, and was reconverted to Protestantism.

Wolfgang of Anhalt bought Köthen in 1546; he at once turned the priests out of the churches, purified them, and made the population Lutheran. Next year, after the battle of Mühlberg, Köthen fell to Count Sigismund of Lodron, and went back to Catholicism. In 1552, at the Convention of Passau, it was restored to Wolfgang, who at once converted his people back to Lutheranism. He died childless fourteen years after, in 1566, and his successor, Johann Ernst, forcibly made Köthen Calvinist in 1570.[1] In 1556 Count Bernhardt von der Lippe conquered the county of Rittberg, expelled the Count from his land, and brought all the people to Calvinism. The granddaughter of the banished Count recovered the lands, to which she was heiress, in 1601, and restored them to the Catholic Church. These examples might be multiplied.

Perhaps the latest instance[2] occurs in the house of Schönburg. This broke into two branches at the beginning of this century—that of Hinterglauchau and that of Wechselburg, and by arrangement Glauchau fell alternately to one house and then to the other. The Count at the head of one branch was a pietist, the other Count a rationalist. Consequently the pastors appointed by one were warm believers in the Incarnation and in free justification, and the next batch laughed both doctrines to scorn and preached natural religion.

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[1] The exercise of the Lutheran and Catholic religions was strictly forbidden. It was not till 1698 that Prince Emanuel Lebrecht allowed a Lutheran church to be built in Köthen.

[2] Except the forcible union of the Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia to be noticed presently.

Protestants and Catholics alike after the Reformation had no idea of toleration. The Lutheran Elector Augustus of Saxony haled all the pastors who had preached Calvinism, and others suspected of Crypto-Calvinism, before him (1574), and made them abjure their errors and swear never again to ventilate them. They all did so except six, and these were imprisoned and put on the rack. Privy Councillor Krakau was so cruelly tortured at intervals calculated to recover him from one torment to endure another, that he killed himself in prison to escape his implacable persecutors. Peucer, the Elector's private physician, the son-in-law of Melanchthon, was kept imprisoned for twelve years in a filthy hole, without books and writing materials. Church-Councillor Stössel died in consequence of his tortures. Only one other of the six escaped alive. After execution, the Elector had a coin struck to commemorate his victory over Crypto-Calvinism, on which he is represented in armour holding a balance. In one scale sits the infant Saviour, in the other the Devil and four Calvinists.[1]

Professor Flacius carried Luther's doctrine of original sin to such exaggeration that he declared that man consisted of sin, sin only, and nothing but sin; that every thought, word, and act of his was damnable. The Elector Augustus did not go these lengths. He banished the land all those who held with Flacius, and then had cannons cast to commemorate this triumph of orthodoxy (1571) On them were grotesque figures of Dr. Flacius in his pastoral habit, with the Devil behind him casting a chain round his body. On the shoulders of the doctor was represented another Devil with a pair of bellows, puffing into the ear of Flacius. Before the Professor stood Fame, blowing a trumpet, and holding a mitre. Under the caricature were cast the inscriptions: "Flacians and Zealots are the forerunners of Satan," and "Pride is the deluding spirit of the Flacians."

When people find that their consciences are managed for them either by priests or princes, they are liable to fall into religious apathy. Religion is not calculated to live where there is no freedom. Consequently, as the belief and worship of the German people were ruled for them, they became listless in their religion. After a brief outburst of excitement their consciences settled into complacent indifference.

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[1] The Elector was so strong in his Lutheranism that he was wont to say, "If I had a Calvinist vein in my body, I would bid the Devil tear it out by the root."—Vehse, *Geschichte der Deut. Höfe*, xxix. 241.

The Thirty Years' war gave the whole nation a sickener of ecclesiastical controversy. Germans followed the religion prescribed for them by their princes in a dull routine manner, without caring to inquire whether it were true or false.

When the Bible ceased to be a *sedes controversiæ* it ceased to be read; when sermons were no longer seasoned with polemical pepper and vinegar, they were no longer listened to. As long as the preacher taught what was to be pulled down and undone, he attracted attention: when he began to build up and mend, his people turned their backs on him. When the chorale was a novelty, congregations met in the churches to sing, but when the Volkslied succeeded with livelier strain, they went to the garden Wirthschaft instead. Pastors tired of haranguing empty benches, and gave up holding services. In the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg an inquiry was made, in 1854, into the condition of the Lutheran Church, and it was found that there had been no divine service held in the head churches (*Präpositur-Kirchen*) 228 times, because there had been no congregation.[1]

Mr. Dewar, English chaplain at Hamburg, said,[2] over thirty years ago, and matters are not mended since: "Religious indifference has pervaded the mass of the people. It is a fact which every traveller who has visited the shores of Germany has remarked, that there is no regard for the ordinances of religion. In Hamburg and its suburbs there are five parish churches and two smaller churches. The congregations attending all the services at all these never, I am told, amount to three thousand in number, so that the remainder of the enormous population, amounting to 150,000, pay no manner of worship to their God. So rapidly has the population increased that, whereas in the year 1826 the number of births was 4,000, in 1842 it amounted to 5,000; and yet in the latter year the number of communicants was 10,000 *less* than in the former. One parish with more than 40,000 inhabitants has but a single church; and there has never been a complaint made, that there is a want of church accommodation. There has never been a wish expressed, that more room should be provided for those who might thereby be induced to assemble for public worship. And Hamburg in these matters does not furnish a low standard when compared with the rest of Germany. In Berlin, for instance, there is a parish which contains 54,000 inhabitants, and the annual number of communicants is 1,000 less than in the largest parish in Hamburg, while the population is one third greater."

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[1] Vehse, *Gesch. d. Deutsch. Höfe*, xxxvii. p. 200.

[2] Dewar (Rev. E. H.), *German Protestantism.* Oxford, 1844.

In statistics of church attendance and of communicants in Germany it will, curiously enough, be found that the number of the latter exceeds that of the former. The reason is, that a great number of persons proclaim their formal adhesion to the Established Church by communicating on the four occasions in the year when the Lord's Supper is administered, or at all events at one or two of them, and never set their foot within the church-door at any other time. This is the remains of the custom of qualifying for Government offices, etc., by exhibiting proofs of belonging to the State Church.[1] Dr. Schwabe gives more recent information of the state of religious affairs in Berlin. "The ancient ties of the Protestant Church are broken," he says.[2] "Spirit and strength are lacking to replace them by new ones. At no period has the Church commanded less and given less satisfaction to man. Statistics show how far this alienation has proceeded. Of 630,000 Protestants, 11,900, viz. nearly two per cent., attend church on the Sundays, and amongst them 2,225 go to the Dom, merely for a musical treat.[3] Religious indifference appears no less conspicuously in the fact that out of 23,969 interments, 3,777, or nearly 15 per cent., only, are attended by religious service." The churches provide accommodation for only 25,000 out of the 800,000 souls in Berlin, yet they are all but empty on Sundays.[4]

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[1] In Baden, among the Protestants in 1877, the per-centage of attendance at church was 26·6; of communicants was 55·1.

[2] Schwabe (H.), *Betrachtungen über die Volksseele.* Berlin, 1870.

[3] In the Dom at 10 A.M. the "Berlin Choir" performs every Sunday Mendelssohn's Psalms, unaccompanied by instrumental music

[4] *Religious Thought in Germany*, reprinted from the *Times*, 1870, p. 27

I was in Strassburg on two Sundays last year, and I went the round of the churches. In Strassburg there are 54,000 Catholics, and 26,000 Protestants. I went into St. Thomas, the Temple Neuf, St. Nicolas, St. John, "Young" St. Peter's, and found that there was but a wretchedly thin congregation everywhere. At St. Thomas' were the soldiers and some well-dressed ladies; at the Temple Neuf the best congregation; at the others a mere handful —as many as might be expected in an English town church on a week-day evening service, when there is no sermon. On the other hand, the Cathedral, Old St. Peter's, and St. Louis, given up to the Catholics, were crammed. I found the same thing at Hadamar on the Lahn, where the nave of the Old Church is given to the Reformed, and the choir to the Catholics.

The late Mr. Samuel Laing, who as a Scottish Presbyterian may be trusted as viewing matters of this sort from an impartial standpoint, said in 1845: "If the question is reduced to what really are its terms in Germany at present—Catholicism, with all its superstitions, errors, and idolatry—or no religion at all, that is to say, not avowed infidelity, but the most torpid apathy, indifference and neglect of all religion—it may be doubted if the latter condition of a people is preferable. The Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in Germany and Switzerland are in reality extinct. The sense of religion, its influence on the habits, observances, and life of the people, is alive only in the Roman Catholic population."[1]

His description of a Genevan church on a Sunday may apply to those of Luther as well. "I happened to be at Geneva one Sunday morning, as the bells were tolling for church. The very sounds which once called the powerful mind of a Calvin, a Knox, a Zwingli to religious exercises and meditations, were now summoning the descendants of their contemporaries to the same house of prayer. There are few Scotchmen whose hearts would not respond to such a call. I hastened to the ancient cathedral, the Church of St. Peter, to see the pulpit from which Calvin had preached, to sit possibly in the very seat from which Knox had listened, to hear the pure doctrines of Christianity from the preacher who now stands where the great champions of the Reformation stood. Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, the fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of our Scottish Zion flow, the earthly source, the pattern, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and practice, has fallen lower from her original doctrine and practice, than ever Rome fell. Rome has still superstition; Geneva has not even the semblance of religion. In the head church of the original seat of Calvinism, in a city of 25,000 souls, at the only service on the Sabbath day—there being no evening service—I sat down in a congregation of about 200 females and twenty-three males, mostly elderly men of a former generation, with scarcely a youth, or a boy, or working man among them. A meagre liturgy or printed form of prayer, a sermon, which, as far as religion was concerned, might have figured the evening before at a meeting of some geological society, as an ingenious essay on the Mosaic chronology, a couple of psalm tunes on the organ, and a waltz to go out with, were the church service. In the villages along the Protestant side of the lake of Geneva—spots especially intended, the traveller would say, to elevate the mind of man to his Creator by the glories of the surrounding scenery, the rattling of the billiard-balls, the rumbling of the skittle-trough, the shout, the laugh, the distant shots of the rifle-clubs, are heard above the psalm, the sermon, and the barren forms of State-prescribed prayer during the one brief service on Sundays, delivered to very scanty congregations—in fact to a few females and a dozen or so old men in very populous parishes, supplied with able and zealous ministers."[1]

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[1] Laing (S.), *Notes on the German Catholic Church.* London, 1845, p. 145.

In 1876, among Protestants, church attendance on ordinary Sundays in Darmstadt was 8·3 per cent., in Giessen 15·7, in Mainz 10 per cent. Throughout Germany 14 out of one hundred persons attend church on Sunday; in the town of Darmstadt only 3·3 in a hundred, in the towns of Mainz (among the Protestants) 5·1, Giessen 5·7, Worms 6·3. In Darmstadt, out of a hundred marriages, 34·5 per cent., in Offenbach 48·6, in Worms 44, are celebrated before the registrar alone, without religious service: burial without religious service throughout Germany in 29·6 out of one hundred interments, in Darmstadt 60 per cent.[2] A curious paper, by Dr. A Franz, in the "Jahrbücher d. National-Oekonomie," in 1865, shows how little energy the Protestants have shown in church-building.[1]

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[1] Laing (S.), *Notes of a Traveller*, p. 324.

[2] In 1877, among Baden Protestants neglect of baptism and of religious marriage was in this proportion: Mannheim, 29·9; Heidelberg, 24·8; Pforzheim, 28·5

	CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.				CLERGY ORDAINED.			
	1858.		Increase, 1864.		1858.		Increase, 1864.	
	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.
Prussia . .	656	509	8	12	705	531	8	23
Posen . .	191	628	8	11	198	626	12	112
Brandenburg .	2,231	41	—	7	1,306	46	31	5
Pommern .	1,229	15	13	1	759	13	19	5
Schlesien .	763	1,273	11	9	853	1,179	15	57
Sachsen . .	2,413	150	1	7	1,670	143	—	21
Westphalia .	316	525	13	19	391	1,159	19	45
Rheinland .	524	2,084	20	140	538	2,469	20	174
Hohenzollern .	1	92	2	27	2	98	1	—
	8,324	5,317	76	233	6,422	6,264	125	442

Thus, while the Protestants gained seventy-six churches, the Catholics had increased theirs by 233. In 1858 the Catholics had 1,245 souls to a church, and the Protestants 1,304, and yet the former showed an increase altogether extraordinary. The 5,046,056 Protestants of the States of Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Saxony, who had one church to 860 souls, had in 1864 gained only fourteen churches. On the other hand, the 171,045 Catholics, who, in 1858 had one church to 830 souls, had in 1864 increased their number by thirteen. In 1858 the Catholics had 202 clergy, in 1864 they had 233. The Protestants, who had 3,735 pastors, or one to 1,352 souls, had increased by only fifty. In the whole State the number of Protestant pastors rose to 6,422, or one to 1,700 souls; but the number of Catholic priests rose to 6,264, or one to 1,057. The Protestants had an addition of 109, the Catholics of 442.

If there were religious interest among the Evangelicals, there would be a considerable number of Dissenters from the established Church, but this is not the case.

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[1] Statistics since the year 1870 have been disturbed by the May laws

By the religious census of 1871, there are in—

	Catholics.	Protestants.	Dissenters.	Dissenters in every 10,000.
Prussia	8,267,862	15,987,927	53,882	22
Bavaria	3,464,364	1,342,592	5,453	11
Saxony (Kingdom)	53,642	2,493,556	4,893	19
Würtemberg	553,542	1,248,860	3,857	21
Baden	942,560	491,008	2,265	16
Hesse	238,080	585,399	3,873	45
Mecklenburg and Oldenburg	71,205	242,945	952	18
Saxon Provinces and Elsass-Loth.	14,867,463	25,579,709	82,155	20

The "Statistik des Deutschen Reichs," vol. ii., gives 0·20 as the proportion of Dissenters in the Empire, whereas 0·94 returned themselves as of no particular religion.

To my mind, nothing could proclaim more clearly the deadness of religious interest in a great people than this absence of Dissent. The State religion does not satisfy the souls of the people, but then their souls have lost all appetite for spiritual truths, so that they do not care to seek them outside the Church. I know a case of a German Methodist who came into a village of some 2,500 inhabitants, all Evangelicals. He hired a large room, lighted and heated it at his own expense, and preached there every Sunday evening for a winter. At first the bauers went out of curiosity. Then the enthusiasm of the man made them smirk, finally they yawned, and went away. At the end of six months the unfortunate preacher had to leave without having made a convert or received above a mark or two to meet the expenses of his meeting. As I have looked at the vacant, listless faces in the parish church, I have grieved that the enthusiast was unable to stir up in their dull souls some spark of spiritual life. In 1861, when I was in Iceland, I conversed with the Roman missionary who had been stationed at the capital ten years. In all that period he had made but a single convert; the reason he gave me surprised me then. "These Lutherans," he said, "believe with the head, but not with the heart. They are so absolutely indifferent to all religious matters that it is impossible to awake in them even the spirit of inquiry." The same condition exists in Germany as in

Iceland. One revival they have had—Pietism—of which I shall speak presently, but it has fallen dead again.

Nothing can give more clear proof of the all-prevailing indifference than the ease with which the Prussian and other unions have been effected. When Prussia embraced lands in which Calvinism was professed, and the Electors introduced Calvinist communities into Lutheran provinces, it was considered inconvenient to have the budget encumbered with payments for the pastors of two Protestant sects. It was decided, therefore, to unite them. All at once, two Churches, which during three centuries had existed side by side in open rivalry, had zealously defended the truth of their respective confessions of faith, had suffered persecution and wrong in support of them, submitted without a murmur, not to the decision of a council of their assembled clergy, but to a royal ordinance.

The history of the union is sufficiently curious.

At the Reformation the Calvinists and Lutherans raged against each other with internecine fury. The Formulary of Concord, introduced in 1580, proved a veritable *concordia discors.* It sealed and perpetuated division. Fifty years later the Electors of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Hesse summoned a conference at Leipzig (1631), in which Lutheran theologians were to meet Calvinist divines, and, if possible, come to some agreement on fundamentals. But the points of difference were found more interesting and exciting than those of agreement. On those points they were ready to denounce each other to everlasting flames as heretics. The Reformed (Calvinists) and Evangelicals (Lutherans) could not come to terms on—1. The doctrine of the union of natures in Christ. 2. The nature of the Communion. 3. And the doctrine of election. In ritual also the two confessions differed. The Calvinists had no altars; and everything that had distinguished a church from a lecture-hall had been swept away. They attended divine worship wearing their hats, did not kneel to pray, and stood to communicate. The Lutherans, on the other hand, used wafers, elevated the Host, wore chasubles, exorcised the Devil in Baptism, burned tapers, had crucifixes and images of saints, and imbibed the Sacramental wine through pipes. In Bavaria, where Lutheranism has not been compulsorily united with Calvinism by the State, the old condition of things remains in part. In a little village church (Muggendorf), which was Lutheran, I have seen an altar reredos set up last century, consisting of three niches, containing in the centre a statue of St. Lawrence, on either side St. Peter and St. Paul. On the altar were six candles; the inscriptions on the brass showed that they had been presented a hundred years ago. At the west end of the church was a huge representation of God the Father and a great dove, below, a life-size crucifix. I counted eight crucifixes in the church: of these several were processional.

One invariable token distinguishes everywhere the Protestant parish church from the Catholic, however like in accessories of worship they may be. The church path to the very door is rank with grass in the first case, trodden bare in the other.

At the close of the sixteenth century Lutheranism in Brandenburg was the dominant religion, because the Elector was Lutheran. But in 1613 the Elector, John Sigismund, went over to Calvinism, and the cathedral at Berlin was purified, and the Communion was there administered according to the Reformed rite. From this time until the close of the seventeenth century there were two religious bodies in Brandenburg, the Reformed who followed the court, and the Lutherans who adhered to their traditional belief and ritual. The Electors and Kings of Prussia remained true to Calvinism, and used all their influence short of persecution to beat Lutheranism down. Pastors who preached against what they regarded as Calvinist heresy were deposed. Paul Gerhard, the great psalmist of the Lutheran Church, was banished the country for this reason. By degrees both communities became weary of controversy, because they had ceased to care for the doctrines and ceremonies which had separated them. In 1733 Frederick William I. by rescript ordered the Lutherans to discontinue the use of surplices, Mass vestments, altar cloths, eucharistic lights, the use of the wafer, chanting the service, private confession, &c.[1] The Lutheran ministers who refused to obey were suspended. Frederick the Great rescinded the order. The object of Frederick William was to diminish the points of difference in worship between the Evangelicals and Reformed, so as to make a future union possible.

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[1] In Iceland, Lutheranism remains unaltered. There the only service is the "Mass," sung by the pastor in rich vestments, with burning tapers, to the old Gregorian melodies. The Mass, however, ends at the sermon, without consecration and communion.

In 1817, Frederick William II. thought the time ripe for a fusion of the two Churches. But before this certain preparatory steps had been taken. In pursuance of a royal minute of December 16, 1808, all the consistories of the Protestant churches throughout the kingdom were abolished, and a new "department for public instruction and worship" was created in the Ministry of the Interior. By this order all self-government was destroyed in the churches, and both Calvinist and Lutheran churches were established under the direction of the State. For ten years the King, as chief bishop, ruled absolutely over both. In 1815 consistories were indeed re-established, but only as Royal Boards for the administration of ecclesiastical business for all confessions, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Jewish alike.

In the matter of doctrine there was little to divide the two Protestant bodies. Luther had laid down consubstantiation as an essential truth. Lutherans had come to be profoundly indifferent as to what was the nature of the bread and wine after the benediction of the pastor. Consubstantiation, transubstantiation, real presence, real absence, were all one to them—a dispute about words. The Sacrament itself was indifferent to them, much more doctrine concerning it. As for election and free justification—words on which Calvin and Luther had fought—nobody believed in either. Election was an absurdity, free justification the fertile mother of immorality. Let both be consigned with indulgences and relic-worship to oblivion as things unsavoury to Christian ethics.

The King determined to establish inter-communion, if not compulsory unity, and in September, 1817, he ordered his court chaplain, Eylert, to issue a proclamation to the people that the King was resolved to unite the two confessions in one outward Evangelical Church, without dogmatic creeds and standards. Eylert was given two days for this; and then the royal order appeared, founding the union. The work begun in 1817 was completed by a Cabinet order in 1839, when the King of Prussia abolished the very name of the Protestant Church, amalgamated Lutheranism and Calvinism into a new establishment, called the Evangelical Church, without any precise doctrine, and with a service and liturgy of his own composition. The old Churches relinquished without regret each their accustomed mode of worship, endeared to them, one might have supposed, by time, and hallowed by solemn recollections. More especially, they resigned that which had been to each the peculiar and most cherished rite, the mode of administering the Lord's supper, and adopted a liturgy, prepared, not by the wisest and most honoured among their spiritual rulers, but by the King and his Cabinet Council. They resigned it, not because one or both were convinced of error, but because both were indifferent, and were easily induced to agree in accepting a nullity. Two or three country parishes, into which the spirit of indifference had not penetrated, alone resisted the royal will. Their ministers were imprisoned, troops were quartered upon them to force them into conformity, and above 600 peasants were compelled to abandon their little properties and fly from Protestant Germany, where each may exercise to the utmost the right of private judgment but not of public worship, and to seek in the wilds of America a new dwelling-place, where they might enjoy the privilege of holding the doctrines which Luther taught, and of participating in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as their fathers during three centuries had received it.

The Protestant churches of Baden, Nassau, Rhein-Hessen, and the Bavarian Palatinate have also been united, or reorganised, on the pattern of the Prussian Evangelical Church, and the only point of difference of any importance between them is that they look to their several reigning Dukes and Princes as their "summi episcopi," instead of to the Emperor.[1] But this is merely because Germany is in a transition political condition: the several sovereigns will sink ere long into bishops, and the Emperor will be supreme pope over the whole Evangelical Church. In Schleswig and in Holstein and in Hanover exist only Lutherans. For the sake of uniformity, they have recently had their Church suppressed, and its place assumed by the Evangelical Church framed by King William of Prussia.

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[1] *E.g.* "The United Evangelical-Protestant Church of the Grand Duchy of Baden . . . forms a portion of the Evangelical Church of Germany. . . . The Evangelical Grand Duke as bishop has the ecclesiastical government of it, in accordance with the Constitution"—(*Verfassung der Evangelischen Kirche des Grossherzogthums Baden*, p. 1, § 1, 4.)

By Prussian charter enacted in 1850, the Established Church has been made independent of the State, but not of the King; that is, it is given synods and a constitution: and the sovereign sits as king over the secular state, and as pope over the ecclesiastical state, absolute and infallible. The spiritual attribute thus claimed by the King is certainly in accordance with a principle acknowledged by Luther himself in his latter days,[1] when the necessity of providing a fit government for the unruly believers of his age made him confer the privilege of Church headship on the various Protestant sovereigns of Germany; and it is in agreement with German tradition during three centuries, which has made the prince sovereign over the creeds and worship, as well as the lives and properties of his subjects. "Cujus regio ejus religio" was a serious maxim of government, and the people accepted their prayer- and hymn-books as well as their doctrines from their prince without a murmur; but for all that the principle is wrong: it kills religious liberty, and with the destruction of liberty religion itself dies. In Brunswick the Duke is in like manner supreme pope, with a consistory as his camarilla. In 1873 he issued an ecclesiastical order for his Church, with full instructions as to what it was to believe, teach, and how it was to worship. The title of this ordinance is, "Church Constitution of the most Serene, Excellent and High-born Prince and Lord, the Lord Frederick Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Postulate-Coadjutor of the Bishopric of Ratzeburg, Provost-Elect of the Archdiocese of Bremen, &c.—How teaching and ceremonies and other ecclesiastical matters and functions are to be discharged in both his Gracious Princely Majesty's principalities of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Celle and Grubenhagen division, and the annexed counties and lordships." (212 pp.) Hermannsburg, 1873.

We naturally ask, How is it that such religious indifference can have spread as to make the union possible and the people to acquiesce in a creedless Church? The union was not effected in the spirit of Paul, but in that of Gallio.

No doubt the principle of "cujus regio ejus religio" had its numbing effect, but this was not the main cause of deadness.

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[1] "Dass 2 und 5 gleich 7 sind," he preached, "das kannst du fassen mit der Vernunft; wenn aber die Obrigkeit sagt: 2 und 5 sind 8, so musst du's glauben wider dein Wissen und dein Fühlen."

What really occasioned this torpor was the discovery by both Lutherans and Calvinists, that their essential dogmas,—those which had created the fiercest controversy, those which their several leaders had regarded as "articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ"—were impracticable. The founders of their faiths had established theories: the generations that followed put them to practical tests, and they found them wanting.

Calvinism is a magnificent logical system. It explains the universe; God and man, heaven and hell, all have their places in it. The world is a problem in Euclid, in which every step follows inevitably on what precedes, and leads on to the inexorable conclusion. It is a system altogether intellectual, clear, sharp, like a prism of ice. And as such it satisfied the minds of thinkers. But there its merits ended. It leaves the heart of man out of consideration. Love had no more place in the "Institutes" than in the Second Book of Euclid. The Scotchman is *par excellence* a man of logic, and the affections play in him altogether a subordinate part; consequently, Calvinism has, and no doubt always will command his adhesion, and will content his religious instincts. But the German is a dreamer, not a logician, a man of tender affections, rather than of rigid definitions. The "Reformed" bauer, rocking his white-haired urchins on his knee, and hugging them to his heart, cannot believe in one being irrevocably called to be a vessel of grace, and the other to be a vessel of wrath. He has nothing of the Brutus in him. He cannot cover one with kisses, and thrust the other into the flames of his oven. And is the Heavenly Father less paternal than he? He watches his children work out their own fortunes, and cannot believe that their fate in eternity is fixed irrespective of their characters and efforts here. Calvinism proved too inhuman for the German to give to the doctrine of election adhesion for more than an hour. When the first gale of controversy blew away, he looked into his own heart, and saw there that God was something other than an arbitrary and unloving despot. Thereupon his faith in Calvinism as a system gave way altogether.

It was much the same with Lutheranism. Luther was not a clear thinker like his great rival: he was a man of warm affections and headstrong convictions. His system was the reverse of Calvin's. He made God all love and forgiveness, and restoration to favour was the easiest thing in the world. A man had but to believe, and he was at once in a state of grace, and his iniquities were blotted out. Even in his time, the proclamation of free justification by faith only led to grave disorders, and frightened back into Catholicism many who wished the Reformation success.

The common sense of Germans showed them that the doctrine which Luther had made the very ground-work of his church was mischievous to morals, and they disinfected it as rapidly as possible by putting it underground. In the seventeenth century it was almost forgotten, nobody believed it, nobody ventured to rule his life on it as a working principle.

Lutherans and Calvinists alike were aware that they had been led a long way out of right paths by theologic Will-'o-the-wisps, and that they had floundered into quagmires. They were ready to extend to one another a helping hand to get out, and when on dry land their vow was not to follow or be led by dogmas any more. Dogmas were the lanthorn on the ass's head led along the highlands, luring vessels among rocks, to become the prey of wreckers. They would stand out to sea. Creeds were breakers over which controversy raged and roared, and on which true religion foundered. Confessions, formularies of concord, were crackers in which each article was an explosive pellet, scaring decent people who loved quiet, and setting in flames those whom they reached.

Thus all Protestant Germany agreed to form one united Evangelical Church without any definite belief. The house was most likely to stand, if no powder or petroleum was stored in its cellars. The primitive Church had rubbed on comfortably on the Apostles' Creed, how much more happily the Protestant Church on no creed at all. As creeds multiplied, so had discord. The more definitions were made, the more material was supplied for objectors. Japanese artists ridicule European draughtsmen, and call them object-scratchers, because they outline before they fill in. The Japanese never outline, they float in masses of colour, and the artist converts the blotch into a fish, a bird, a flower, or a mountain, as his fancy leads him. In religion, said the German, we have been hitherto object-scratchers, drawing outlines of dogma hard and distinct, and afterwards filling them in, sometimes with colour, often with Indian ink. This we have now to unlearn.

We will remove our outlines, erase our scratches, leaving only vague blots of ink, or patches of colour, for any one to transform into such doctrine as agrees with his individual proclivities.

With the disappearance of all dogmatic barriers, it was believed that the established Church would absorb all sects. It was with a feeling of unmingled surprise that the Government saw that it produced them. It hoped that all nonconformist bodies would melt into the Evangelical Church, for they would find nothing to object to in her teaching, for the simple reason that she taught nothing at all. He who joined the established Church would, like Ixion, embrace a cloud. It was not on the platform of definite belief that the union of the Churches was effected, but in the vacuity of common negation. Men may, unconsciously, and without effort, tumble into a hole, but they cannot climb a hill without exertion. It remains optional for any one to call doctrines from vasty vagueness, but when he calls they will not come, save as ghosts, the ghosts of a dead creed, on whose tomb is written no *Resurgam.*

No new doctrine was imported into the teaching of the Church; her dogmas were simply extracted from her, and laid aside, as cooks draw woodcock, and serve its entrails apart on toast. The old confessions and creeds, and articles, and catechisms, and formularies and rites, were allowed to remain in an antiquarian museum, to be looked on with interest, and lectured on, not to be resuscitated. Catholic Christianity rested on an inerrable Church, as the teacher of truth; Protestant Christianity reposed on an infallible Scripture; but the Dubitarian Christianity of the established Church declares that certainty on any religious topic is nowhere to be found, that truth lies at the bottom of the well—but the well is that of Zemzem, which has no bottom. The externals of religion are maintained intact, and intact they will remain as long as they are regarded as empty and meaningless. Inflated only with air, they serve their purpose, as the bladders on which natives float across the Euphrates.

The Reformation in Germany was first of all social, then political, and lastly, and accidentally only, religious. Moral it was not, it scarcely pretended to be. There is abundant evidence that wherever it prevailed the moral tone sank several degrees.[1] It was first of all social. In all the cities and large towns, the cathedral or minster was the seat of a close aristocratic corporation. The bishop or dean had rights in the town, which were in constant clash with the rights of the citizens. These rival powers, the first feudal, the second democratic, led to bloody broils in almost every century. The town council gradually fell into the power of the guilds, and in the fifteenth century the Rath seized the first excuse for getting rid of the rival authority. The princes were needy, impoverished by equal subdivision of property, and they cast hungry eyes on the large estates of the Church, and saw a means of enriching themselves, and recovering their power, by appropriating them. Zeal for religion was a plausible excuse for spoliation.

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[1] See the three thick volumes of Dr. Döllinger: *Die Reformation.*

Olaus Magnus tells of a city in Norway that was buried by an avalanche, set in motion by a curlew hopping over snow on an impending mountain side. But it was not the curlew that destroyed the town, but the breath of spring that passed over the country and loosed the icy ties that held the glacier to the rocks. Luther, Melanchthon, Osiander, Brenz, Bucer, were but the curlews hopping over the mass and starting it. But they did not originate the Reformation. It was brought about by the breath of modern ideas thawing Mediævalism. An avalanche is a bad simile. The break-up of old ideas at the Reformation far more closely resembles the break-up of the Rhine ice in spring. The coherent and solid surface of belief is fissured, and then falls to pieces. In a moment nothing is seen but the swirl of floating dogmas, charging against one another, grinding against each other, losing their angles, and forming fresh ones, crashing into one another, disappearing with a plunge and coming up in splinters—but all imperceptibly, yet certainly, honeycombing and melting away.

Three hundreds of years have gone by; and now if one looks across the current of thought, one sees nothing like this—now and then there reels by a sodden and slushy relic of ancient faith, ready to disappear. But of such the stream is almost clear—clear of crystalline belief—not clear of impalpable mud—of that there is superfluity. There is now philosophy in Germany, not religion. And the man who pretends to regard Christianity as anything more than a form of misbelief is regarded as a sinner against culture. Christianity was the pedagogue leading to the Real-Schule.

On Sunday, August 8, 1869, whilst the Pastor Heinrici was reciting the creed in the Berlin Cathedral Church, a loud voice cried, "You lie!" and a shot followed, aimed at the pastor. The shot was fired by a young man named Biland, who had been educated for the Evangelical ministry, but whose abhorrence of dogmatic belief had become so intense, that he had resolved, by shooting an orthodox clergyman, to attract attention from the public mind to the inadmissibility of the Apostles' Creed in the religious services of a Protestant church. "I taught myself," said Biland, "that some striking deed was indispensable to rouse the public mind from its apathy, and chase away the mists of superstition. I therefore determined to seize the first favourable opportunity that offered for shooting a pastor, while uttering his accursed perjuries. I have done it. I cast the ball myself, and have done my best to render the shot fatal. I knew perfectly what I was about, and am convinced that there are many able to appreciate the disinterestedness of my purpose, though they may not approve of the method chosen to compass it."

The *Times*' correspondent thereupon says: "I am afraid the prisoner was right in supposing that many will appreciate his motive, though they will abhor the deed. The majority of educated men in Germany are estranged from the dogmatic teaching of the Christian creed, estranged from it to the extent of disbelieving the sincerity of many of the clergy. Only a small fraction of the nation attends divine service; of the educated, those met with in church on a Sunday are few and far between."

The union, so far from galvanising religion into life, has shaken up its pillows on which it may sleep more comfortably. Here and there are pastors and congregations holding by the Apostles' Creed, and preaching and believing the Augsburg Confession, but they are scarce, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, and are objects of suspicion and dislike to their more enlightened neighbours. They are regarded as hypocrites or ignoramuses, enemies to culture and to light, to be put down, if possible, by force.

But the orthodox have the Emperor on whom to lean, against whom they may set their backs. In answer to a deputation of the Brandenburg Synod in 1869, he used the memorable words: "What is to become of us, if we have no faith in the Saviour, the Son of God? If He is not the Son of God, His commands, as coming from a man only, must be subject to criticism. What is to become of us in such a case?"

It has, no doubt, been a source of great disappointment to the pious Emperor, that the Evangelical Church shows no signs of a religious revival. The union did not prick it into life, perhaps constitutionalism might succeed. Accordingly a new attempt was made to awaken the interest of the people in the Church, by giving them a voice in her organization and direction.

By decree of September 10, 1873, Prussian Protestantism has been accorded a constitution, with parish synods and diocesan synods, and provincial synods, and general synods—the latter by royal decree of January 20, 1876. Since 1873, there have been numerous laws made by the King for the better organization of representative government in the national Protestant Church. Nothing can be more admirable than the constitution—on paper.[1] It was given in hope that it would interest the people in their Church and religion. It was an attempt to give the Lutheran-Calvinist amalgam a congregational character. But the attempt failed. The people were too indifferent to the Church and religion to avail themselves of the privileges given them. The only persons who used it were the Socialists, who rushed to the poll to put a democrat in the pulpit of the parish church, whence he might preach the gospel of socialism, or, where they have not the nomination of their pastor, to hamper him and thwart the purposes of the Sovereign in the government of the Church.

The united Evangelical Church of Germany has, as I have already pointed out, this peculiar and exceptional feature. It is creedless. No member in it is bound to any particular belief in God or Christ. No member knows what to believe, and nobody cares. A pastor in it can therefore teach pretty much what he likes.

The act of union set up no confession of faith as the symbol of the newly organized Church; on the contrary, the royal proclamation asserted that "God's word alone" should be the foundation of the new Church, and the King expressly rejected any attempt at union "from the point of view of the Lutheran or the Reformed Confession." It is quite open to one congregation to adopt the Heidelberg Confession as its standard, and to its neighbour to adopt the two catechisms of Luther, for the general synod of 1846 decided that the right of "vocation" which pertained to any patron or congregation included the right to demand from the "called" pastor a statement of his belief. In the "general synodal regulation" of 1876, the words "the Evangelical confession" (of faith) occur, and in the discussion of this constitution in the synod of 1875, an attempt was made to put this sentence in the plural, as "Evangelical confessions," but it was registered, and the remark was made by a deputy, "You speak of an Evangelical confession, but after all you know well that there is no such thing in existence as the Evangelical confession." The union, moreover, was introduced, as I have shown, entirely and solely by royal authority; the King founded it by royal mandate. The Churches were in no way consulted, otherwise than by making the acceptance of the union optional—an option, the value of which may be estimated by the conduct of the Government towards those who would not conform. The present Evangelical Church is therefore a State creation, "by order of the King." It may be, it is well to have religious controversies composed, but this experiment did not compose them. Where the all-prevailing indifference exists, there there was no strife about doctrine to appease, but where it burns, there it is given redoubled vehemence, for rival doctrines are preached in the same church and pulpit, and the pastor at one service denounces the pastor at the next, and one church breaks into two or three congregations holding different views.

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[1] *Die Gesetze u. Instruktionen über die Evangelische Kirchenverfassung in den acht älteren Provinzen der Monarchie.* Berlin, 1876.

But the doctrines of election and free justification are indeed no longer the matters of controversy, nobody believes in either: the wrangling takes place over what, according to the royal minute, is the very basis of the new Church "the word of God," which some insist on as a rock, and others as sand. One pastor declares all Scripture inspired, another shows how it is a collection of the literature of a people, embodying its dramas, romances, poetry, and historical works. One proposes belief in miracles, another explains the cures wrought by Christ by mesmerism, and the miracles as optical delusions. The Church reposes on no fundamental truths, but is built like the Pfahlbauten over a pond, from which every man may fish up what he likes, and into which he may pitch down what he disdains. It is a preparation for another Church, which will have abandoned even the pretence of Christianity.

In the midst of the general apathy one looks with interest for the dawning of a new religious movement, that shall be constructive rather than destructive. It seems to me that German Protestantism must lead to, and find its permanent rest in either Deism or Pantheism. Deism, like Calvinism, is an intellectual religion, it provides the mind with a solution to the riddle of the universe. It is a religion grand and solemn, with its clear ethic code, without which religion is a theory of philosophers, not a law governing the world.

Pantheism, like Catholicism, is a heart religion. It appeals to the sense of the beautiful. What the sacraments are to Catholicism, that every flower and bird and butterfly are to the Pantheist. The Catholic sees God on every altar, and in every rite a ray of grace. The Pantheist is face to face with God in all nature, in every mountain and in every star. Deism commands man's adhesion through the head, Pantheism through the heart. These two are the ultimate goals of all disintegrating faiths, they must become crystalline or gaseous.

The Evangelical Church reposes, as the King proclaimed, on nothing save the Scriptures. And it is precisely these Scriptures which have been everywhere undermined and blown up with dynamite.

The *Times*' correspondent says, "In the present intellectual atmosphere of the country, it is pretty certain that a boy of fifteen disbelieves the texts he has been compelled to learn at ten. There is a strong and growing impression that the Christian creed has become too obsolete for any one to take the trouble of warring against it. They regard some of the Reformed clergy as enthusiasts, others as hypocrites, and the rest as dunces; all equally destined to die out in a couple of generations."[1] At the Cologne Conference of the Old Catholics, a letter from an aged Evangelical pastor was read, in which he blessed God for the movement, and prophesied that Old Catholicism would receive into it all Protestants who had faith and love for Jesus Christ. His prophecy has not been fulfilled. I doubt if a dozen Evangelicals have joined Old Catholicism. The majority of those who believe in the Incarnation have formed the sect of "Old Lutherans."

Let us now look at the most remarkable religious movement in

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[1] *Religious Thought in Germany*, p. 28.

Protestant Germany since the Reformation—a movement very similar to that in England instituted by Wesley, but along somewhat different lines. This was Pietism.

Throughout Evangelical Germany sleep had settled over Lutheranism and Calvinism alike. The people in the villages vegetated in their traditional religion; the students in the universities, the princes and the nobles disbelieved in all.

The man in the Gospel asked for bread and was given a stone. Lutheranism and Calvinism alike were not even asked for spiritual food; and if they gave stony lumps of cold dogma to men as bread, men tossed them aside with indifference; they had no appetites. Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), the first in the university of Leipzig boldly to write the prospectus of his lectures on the blackboard in German instead of Latin—this Thomasius had the courage to tell his contemporaries that they had exchanged "the wooden yoke of the Papacy for the iron yoke of Lutheranism." Theology was a gymnastic ground, religion a battle-field; and only the learned went through their theological gymnastics, and furious controversialists mangled each other in religion. The Papacy of the Apostolic chair had been supplanted by the Papacy of the letter of the Bible. Nobody read the Scriptures for edification in Leipzig at the end of the seventeenth century, as we have seen elsewhere; not a Bible was to be procured in any of its booksellers' shops.

The leaders of reaction, of revival, were Spener (1635–1705) and Francke (1663–1727). They declared that religion was something of the heart and not of the head, to be cultivated by prayer, not disputation, to be practised in charity, not exercised in controversy. A warm breath of spiritual awakening passed over the field of dry bones, and some of them came together and stood up, like Ezekiel's army—but not as in his vision—in a great host, but here and there. The religious revival was practical. Francke founded the Volksschule; he was the first man to arouse a consciousness in the nation that it was bound to provide for the education of the masses. Spener was a native of Strassburg, where he entered the pastorate in 1663. He went to Frankfurt, where he held prayer-meetings in his house, and afterwards in the church. This roused the anger of the Pharisaic Lutherans, and he was obliged to justify himself in a printed letter. But as opposition increased, he was forced to leave, and was appointed first court-preacher in Saxony in 1686.

He devoted himself to education, to sowing the seeds of religious principle in the tender hearts of children; he continued his meetings for prayer and Bible exposition at Leipzig. Some disorders were the result of his innovation: he was dismissed his cure, and in 1691 summoned to Berlin by the Elector.

Spener, however, was not the originator of Pietism, but the most noted reviver of it. Pietism is, in fact, a natural outcome of Lutheranism, it is a mystic form of religion seeking union with God in internal rapture, spiritual exaltation, and a realization of justification. It is a form to which hysterical men and women are naturally prone, but it is also a necessary revulsion from the dead-letterism into which German Protestantism had lapsed. Boehm, the mystic Silesian shoemaker, had been a representative of the same phase of religionism, but his system had been Pantheistic. Broschbandt and Müller had preached Pietism at Rostock in 1661. Johann Horbs of Traarbach followed in their traces, denounced external forms, and made religion to consist of the spontaneous effusion of the heart. Horbs was a preacher at St. Nicholas, Hamburg. Francke was a convert of Spener's. He was born at Lübeck, and studied at Leipzig. In 1688 he came under Spener's influence, and in 1689 began to give Pietistic lectures at Leipzig. He was persecuted, and the orthodox Lutheran party attempted his expulsion, but Thomasius defended him. In 1690 he went to Erfurt, to the Church of St. Augustine. His fervent piety and unction attracted great numbers of Catholics: he was denounced for this to the government as dangerous to the public peace, and ordered to leave Erfurt within forty-eight hours. In 1692 he went to Halle, and was made there professor of theology and pastor of Glaucha. Finding his parishioners sunk in barbarism and ignorance, he opened a large school for poor children, and founded also an orphanage, and lastly a large boarding-school for children whose parents wished to place them under his religious instruction.

In the midst of the senseless etiquette and wasteful extravagance of the pre-Revolution period, the Pietists preached simplicity of life, and moderation in expenditure. Luxury and licentiousness—the essentials of a gentleman in the rococo period—were by them sternly rebuked. They had followers in the aristocratic classes as well as among the bürgers. The family of Reuss was specially devoted to Pietism, and it is one of the few German princely families whose history in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries has not been a *chronique scandaleuse.* Henry II. of Reuss (1696–1722) was regarded as the most God-fearing, upright, and Christian prince of a godless age. A countess of Reuss-Ebersdorf in 1722 became the wife of Zinzendorf. Moser says of the line of Reuss, "Perhaps no countly house in Germany has for a long series of years produced such good, wise, excellent rulers; perhaps no other house rests on such firm, well-considered, and lasting bases of internal family-settlements; few houses have produced such a number of sons who have distinguished themselves in war or political life in or outside Germany; few German territories of like extent have reared more brave and learned men, among the subjects; there are few which have been such Canaans of happiness and content."

But Pietism ran into extravagance. It forbade not only what was evil, but also what was innocent. Laughter, dancing, card-playing, the wearing of jewellery, poetry, theatres, even the reading of "worldly" newspapers fell under condemnation. Everything in life was sinful which was not disagreeable. It diverted itself into two streams, the mystic and the puritan: the former guided by the inner light of spiritual illumination, the latter nailing its religion to verbal inspiration, precisely analogous, not in doctrine, but in practice, to a harsh Calvinism, which could almost denounce the Almighty as godless for having created the rose and the peacock.

Pietism of mystic tendency culminated in Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) and Herrnhutanism. Whilst young, in the school at Halle, he founded the order of the "Service of the Lord," the duties of which consisted in "renouncing the world, remaining members of Christ, and converting the heathen." In the university of Wittenberg the ruling orthodoxy drove him further into the arms of Pietism, so that he—as a youth of eighteen—"invoked the Lord and Saviour to aid him in getting through his dancing-master's and riding-master's lessons with success, so as to be the sooner rid of these vanities."

In 1722 he offered an asylum on his estate at Bertelsdorf, in Lusatia, to the Moravian Brothers, everywhere persecuted by the orthodox. A carpenter named Christian David was at their head, and the settlement assumed the name of Herrnhut, or the Lord's Protection. But the carpenter had to make way for the Count, who assumed the headship of the society. Thence he sent apostles into all parts of the world. The Count was not, however, satisfied with his inner "awakening;" he desired also an external seal on his mission, and went through a theological examination before the ministry of the town of Stralsund. Then he had himself ordained preacher by the theological faculty at Tübingen, and entered the pulpit dressed in black velvet, with a long black mantle, over which he wore the riband and star of his order. The apostleship had not yet swallowed up aristocratic pride. After that, in 1737, he got himself named bishop; and, not satisfied with this title, in 1743 assumed that of minister-plenipotentiary and steward-general of the society of Herrnhut. He then started on his travels in England, America, etc. His spiritual songs, which now stand in the hymn-book of the Herrnhuters, turn on the mystic union of the soul-bride and the heavenly bridegroom, not always without sensuous and equivocal expressions. Accusations of immoralities practised among these fanatics are probably groundless, though mystic exaltation has always a tendency to lapse into disorderly union of the sexes.

Zinzendorf's enthusiasm was not a solitary instance. Several princely and countly houses reckoned themselves as Pietistic, and the Pietists knew how to impose respect on those who opposed them. In 1709 the Prince of Amhalt-Zerbst issued an edict against them. Thereupon a preacher who was bitten with Pietism heard a voice from heaven ordering him to go to the Prince and testify against him. As this did not answer, Christ himself appeared to the preacher, curiously enough, dressed in the Republican colours, red, white, and blue, and with flaming hair, bade him again warn the Prince. The latter was so frightened that he died seven days after.

The Counts of Promnitz were among the "illuminated." Count Erdmann was very fond of protracted family prayers, to such an extent as to interfere with the domestic arrangements. His mother was very stout. "My son," said the Dowager Countess, "I love you dearly, and will humour you in many things, but I am too fat to kneel with you two or three hours a day."

Büsching, who "had been converted to a condition of grace when a boy, visited this family in 1751, and found that the greater part of the day was devoted to reading the Bible and pious talk.

During unctuous conversation over meals the Countess's lapdog walked about the table and put its wet nose against the meats; and when a speaker was very earnest and lost in his subject, licked the gravy out of his plate. The devout Countess also had a pair of squirrels "who dwelt in her bosom," but were disturbing to pious converse, and did not savour of holiness. German female society was a ready ground for the springing up of religious enthusiasm, or rather extravagance. The dryness and colourlessness of Lutheran worship—which, indeed, can hardly be called worship—was calculated to drive women with souls amenable to religious influences to seek expression for their feelings elsewhere. To this must be added the *ennui* of château-life in spots not close to a court and theatres. Marriages were then often unhappy, for they were contracted without love, and married ladies, waxing too old to contract *liaisons*, yawned for something to disturb the monotony of their lives. Many ladies of the upper classes were condemned to be old maids lest the fortune of the family should be squandered. If they had not husbands and children to love, they would love any religious fanatic who presented himself, for woman must love something. From this it came about that Pietism had so many adherents in the upper classes. The illustrious houses of Solms, Stolberg, Isenburg, Wittgenstein, Leiningen, Reuss, Promnitz, and Dohna, were all stung with this tarantula. A swarm of apostles, ecstatics, sibyls, spread over the country. In the gatherings of the "elect," nothing was heard of but marvellous conversions, sealings, and revelations. The holy community of "Mother Eve" in Schwarzenau was rudely interfered with by the police, and discovered to hide under professions of ecstatic piety proceedings of revolting indecency.[1]

The "saints of Wildisbach," in 1823, crucified and killed an unfortunate young woman. Disclosures followed, convicting the community of gross immoralities as well.

In 1835 a Pietistic association, under the pastors Ebel and Diestal, had its interior arrangements disturbed by the Countess Finkenstein, who had been drawn into the society by her religious enthusiasm, declining to become the "mother of the Saviour" by Ebel; a process which was tried on all female postulants.

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[1] The depositions taken down and full particulars impossible of reproduction are given in Thomasius' *Vernünftige u. Christliche Gedanken*, iii. 208–624.

The Puritanic party are violently assailed by Marlitt, in her novels, as hypocrites and kill-joys. Hypocrites they are not, but earnest people, who, finding that rationalism is invading the Church after having mastered society, cling with despair and some acrimony to the letter of Scripture, shut their eyes to the discoveries of modern hermeneutics, and make their one article of belief—the one on which salvation depends—belief in the verbal inspiration of Scripture. The battle they fight is a lost one; and, knowing this, they fight with the self devotion and fury of the Punic women when Carthage was stormed by the Romans. Doctrines—the Incarnation, miracles, the Trinity, the resurrection, the final judgment, Heaven and Hell,—are only prized because they are scriptural, and they rank with the order of the Kings of Judah and the date of Sennacherib.[1] That "precious word Mesopotamia," and the Sermon on the Mount, are all equally good because they are all within the covers of Luther's Bible. The children are taught, not so much to believe in God, as to believe in the Bible, not to follow the spirit but to cling to the letter. I have heard, and wondered over, the instruction of children for confirmation in the Evangelical Church. Their memories are burdened with long passages of Scripture and with the most exact knowledge of its contents; they know which animals were clean and which were unclean, and of how many wives and concubines the household of Solomon was composed; they know all about the journeys of St. Paul, and the number of Selahs that occur in the Psalms; but of practical doctrinal or even moral teaching they get nothing. The Faroese have fifteen different names for as many varieties of fog, in which they live enveloped ten out of twelve months. The Evangelicals profess about as many doctrines, but they are all vaporous, undefined, undefinable. Any one may lose his way in each of the fifteen, no one can grasp anything in any one of them.

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[1] They have a hard time of it both with sceptics and inquirers. The story is told of a Frankfurt pastor of the orthodox school, that a citizen button-holed him and began to discuss the truth of the Deluge with him. "Do you mean to tell me, you believe the whole story of the Flood and the Ark?" he asked. "Every word of it," answered the Pfarrer stoutly. "What! all about the clean beasts going in by sevens, and the unclean by twos?" "I believe it all," said the pastor. The Bürger paused—he was in the Juden-Strasse—looked round, and said, "Eight Jews in the Ark, and only two fleas among them! The story carries an impossibility on the face of it."

In Scotland children are so well instructed in the Assembly Catechism, that Calvinism, as a dogmatic system, throws its fibres into their inmost souls, and is never wholly eradicated. But that is a clear intellectual theory of God's dealings with the world. In after life it may be rejected, but it can never be forgotten. Every logical system sinks into the system and becomes part of it, for its good or bane. It is like mercury. Take calomel as a child, and it will be found in your liver when an old man. Augustine imbibed Manichæism as a youth, and it soured his breath when a Christian bishop. A dogmatic belief gives an indelible stamp to the mind, like a course of Euclid. This is why a Catholic, who has broken from his creed during life, so generally returns to it on his death-bed—a thing unheard of among Protestants. A drowning man will catch at a balk, if he can, if not, at a straw, but never at a bubble. The German Protestants are given nothing of the kind, for the Evangelical Church has no definite belief. The children's heads are merely crammed full of Scripture, and no sooner do they begin life for themselves than their faith in the sun and moon standing still, and Balaam's ass speaking with human voice, gives way, and with these legends goes the whole Gospel story. If one link in the Biblical chain is broken, the whole falls in ruin. If one inch of the dyke of verbal inspiration gives way, in bursts the flood of unbelief, and submerges every Christian landmark. Whether a dogmatic creed or belief in the infallibility of a book furnish the best grounds of religion may be doubted, but what is certain is, that the former is the toughest, if only because least easily proved false. A man may believe in God, because he feels that the world is an enigma without that key, and it is impossible to demonstrate the non-existence of God. But if a man's faith be pinned to a document, and that document be proved to have flaws in it, away goes his faith. He may hold that there is a future state as he has been instructed in youth in his creed, and no amount of argument can disprove this article; but if he believes in it because it is foretold in a book, and that book blunders about the hare chewing its cud, he is very likely to say, a testimony which makes mistakes in matters of daily observation to-day, is not to be trusted when it makes promises for the future.

As long as a German peasant remains in his village, and sees no books or newspapers, he believes in his Bible. He has no great love for it—it bored him as a school task—but he believes in it, as he does in the North Pole and the Equator. But directly he goes to a town, he finds that there the whole of the Biblical history in Old and New Testaments is by every one regarded as children's tales, on a level with "Hop-o'-my-Thumb" and "Cinderella." A little rudimentary criticism disposes of some of the Biblical statements, and the bauer's faith is gone. Now that every young peasant is brought into a town for three years as a soldier, the belief of every one is more or less undermined. The next generation will have no Christian belief whatever.

But there is another motive cause of disintegration of the national belief, and that is within the Church. The great attraction exercised by the preachers at the Reformation consisted in the fact that they were destructive. There is no pleasure greater than smashing old idols. People crowded to church to hear each Sunday that another of the articles in which they had formerly believed was unscriptural and superstitious. When the excitement of doctrine-smashing was over, the laity grew listless. Preachers do not like haranguing empty benches, and it was only natural that some should revert to the old plan, and collect an audience by iconoclastic exhortations. Consequently there are a great number of pastors in the Evangelical Church who court popularity by preaching rationalism. I do not for a moment hint that they are insincere. They have read modern German Protestant theology, and enter the ministry with a burning desire to be reformers, to teach the people to cast the Bible to the bats and owls, as their forefathers cast relics and images. They find that they can draw a congregation by preaching against the leading dogmas of Christianity, miracles, and the inspiration of Scripture, and this encourages them to greater boldness and more advanced rationalism.

The situation is most curious. The Church is based on no forms of faith whatever, but only on Scripture, and it is precisely Scripture which the pastors of that Church are busily engaged every Sunday in exhibiting to the people to be a tissue of fable. The architects of Lagado built their churches from the roof-tree downwards. The ministers of the Evangelical Church are removing the one stone on which the whole superstructure rests, nothing doubtng that it will remain suspended in the air. I shall quote a few specimens of their proceedings.

On Trinity Sunday, 1877, the assistant preacher in the one great church given to the Evangelicals in a South German town, where the Protestants number nearly 3000, began his sermon thus: "Now-a-days, none but fools believe in a Trinity. Let us, therefore, not waste time over such an exploded doctrine, but consider the glories of nature." The same preacher on another occasion gave an exposition of the manner in which Moses hoodwinked the children of Israel. This was his explanation of the miracle of the smitten rock. Moses went about alone in search of a spring of water, and he discovered one leaking out of a rock. He thereupon choked the orifice with clay, and summoning the people before it, thus addressed them: "Hear, now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?" Then, by a dexterous twitch of his rod he removed the plug, and "the water came forth abundantly."

Now, in this church there is a dean, or head preacher, who is orthodox, insists on the doctrine of the Trinity, and on the inspiration of Scripture. He holds service at 9 a.m. and his coadjutor at 10.30 a.m. What he insists on in his sermon, his curate denies an hour later. This is an exemplification of what is called the "Parallel System," which prevails in a great many places. The educated Germans will not go to church where the old-fashioned doctrines are preached, consequently two pastors are provided for a church, one orthodox, the other rationalist; one who baptizes with the Creed, and one without. The Liberal Protestants now for the most part dispense with baptism, but if they have their children baptized, they choose that it shall be without the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, in which they do not themselves believe, and in which they will not undertake to have their children brought up.

In 1859–61, in the Palatinate, the Rationalist party outnumbered the orthodox, and the hymnal and catechism were purified of distinctive doctrines. Thus, the catechism issued by authority in 1869 omits all mention of the Trinity, the Godhead of Jesus Christ, original sin, hell, the resurrection, etc.

In the synod of 1877 only one-third of the whole number of pastors was orthodox. Thirty-six of the Left endeavoured to have the Apostles' Creed altogether expunged from the service books.

As an amendment it was proposed to retain the Creed in the books, but make the reading of it optional, and only three orthodox voted against this. The delegates of the Pfalz, who do not sit in the "general synod," drew up and sent in the following memorial, which had passed the provincial synods :—" 1. We hold that it is opposed to the free thinking of the Protestant principles of our united Church that any member of it should be bound by any creed. Thus to tie a man's belief up is a violation of the Protestant right of free inquiry, examination of the grounds of religion, and internal conviction. 2. We hold, however, that there should be consent to some basis of teaching, and that this basis should be Holy Scripture and the allowed text-books. 3. We hold that every parish has a right to elect its pastor."

A writer in the *Pfälzer Zeitung* remarks: " This is now our condition in the Evangelical Church. A pastor who chooses to regard the Apostles' Creed as a worn-out relic of the ages of superstition can put it on one side. Another, to whom the faith in the truths of revelation is all-in-all, may indeed profess it, but have it denied next minute by another minister in the same church. Both sides are served. It is remarkable how far temporisation has gone. And this is only a first step. Others will be taken in the same direction. Our pastors and laity alike will come to regard the verities of the Christian creed as curiosities stored in the service book, as in an antiquarian museum It is a question now whether a baptism without the Creed can be valid. We shall not be surprised if for the future Catholics refuse to acknowledge it, and thus, almost the only link between us will be broken. Here in the Palatinate, as everywhere else in Germany, the doom of the Protestant Church is sealed. Positive Christianity will have no foothold in it, and must take refuge either in the Catholic Church, or among the Old Lutherans, or in Methodism, and the established Church in its negativism will fall into undisguised heathenism."

By decision of December 14, 1877, parallel forms of Baptism and Confirmation are provided for the Church in the Palatinate, one with the Creed, the other without. At the same synod thirty-six voted for the abandonment of the Augsburg Confession, *i.e.* two thirds of the whole synod, but this motion was laid aside. Now, as the *Pfälzer Zeitung* says: " Ein jeder Pfarrer predigt und lehrt wie ihm der Schnabel gewachsen ist."

In Schleswig, lately, Pastor Diechmann, who is inspector of schools, instituted a reform of religious instruction of children, by expunging from their Bible text-books[1] everything that savoured of the miraculous, and he boldly defended his reform by saying that "Biblical miracles are unfit for reading in schools, because they are indefensible." Pastor Paulsen of Kropp thereupon charged him with being an "adulterator of Scripture," for which he has been drawn before the Schleswig court of justice and fined 600 marks or 40 days' imprisonment. Thereupon the Consistory has impeached Diechmann for heresy. The *Hamburg Correspondenz* for February 3, 1878, says, in a leading article, "When we look more closely into what is going on in the established Church, the more convinced we are that the Church is falling headlong to ruin, and that we are, so to speak, sorrowful friends sitting round its deathbed, watching for the last breath. Here and there the Social Democrats have seized on the government of the churches, to use them for their destructive polemics. In other places, as in the town of Schleswig, formal declaration of secession from it is made by the upper classes in considerable numbers—a proof of estrangement on all sides. And lastly, and most sadly, the clergy are divided into two hostile camps.

In Baden the orthodox party got the upper hand in 1857, and proceeded to reconstruct the service book, and give it a liturgical character. It met with violent opposition, and was used only by a few very determined pastors. Consequently the Grand Duke, as *summus episcopus*, by order in 1858 declared the simplest formulary in the book, among alternative offices, the so-called "minimum," to be alone valid, and promised the speedy abolition of the other forms. In 1867 some alteration in a Liberal direction was made in the book. But in the meantime the clergy had become much more pronounced in their rationalism, and the orthodox had dwindled to a handful. Many pastors absolutely refused to read the Apostles' Creed. At last the discontent grew to a head, and the Evangelical Synod undertook the reconstruction of the book. This was approved by the Oberkirchenrath on March 9, and received the *imprimatur* of the Grand Duke on March 17, 1877. It still contains the Creed and the Doxology, but these are put within brackets as optional, to satisfy the consciences of those pastors who are orthodox, but as a Pfarrer told me, "they are probably not read in half-a dozen churches in the Grand Duchy." The form is provisional. Probably in another ten years it will be supplanted by one from which Creed and Doxology have been absolutely cancelled.

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[1] Children in German Protestant schools are not given the Bible to read and learn, but selected portions only, a much superior plan to ours.

The Sunday morning service in this Baden book is thus constructed :—

1. A hymn.
2. Votum. An invocation.
3. Entrance prayer.
4. Doxology (optional).
5. Collect.
6. Lesson from the Bible, to be chosen by the pastor.
7. Creed (optional).
8. Sermon.
9. Hymn (optional).
10. Chief prayer.
11. Lord's Prayer.
12. Hymn.
13. Blessing. "The Lord bless you and keep you," etc.

By making the lesson optional, the pastor may read only exhortatory passages from Scripture, and omit all that is miraculous. And the form of the blessing is unobjectionable, as there is in it no allusion to the Trinity. As will be seen, there is nothing in the service like the English forms of worship. The only part taken by the people is in the hymns. The Communion service is equally simple. The communicants walk round the altar, and receive a piece of bread, standing, at one end, and a draught of wine, standing, at the other end, two pastors generally occupying the ends of the table, for the purpose. There is an amount of formality and absence of religiousness about this service which is somewhat startling to an English or Scottish man.

The Pastor Klapp, incumbent of Adorf in Waldeck, put himself forward as a candidate for the vacant pastorate of the Church of St. Catherine in Osnabrück. He openly denied our Lord's divinity, resurrection, and the inspiration of the Scriptures, and was elected by 508 votes against fifty-one. The Consistory at Hanover, however, refused to appoint him.[1]

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[1] See Klapp; *Ein Hannoverisches Glaubensgericht.* Hildesheim, 1875.

The case of Dr. Hosbach and the Church of St. James at Berlin was somewhat similar; only the majority have been less disposed to submit to have their election overridden. Hosbach was elected in 1876. In his probationary sermon he frankly declared his views: he rejected verbal inspiration and all that is miraculous in the Gospel story. The orthodox minority, horrified at this outspoken rationalism, left the church during the sermon. A few weeks after, a memorial signed by 900 out of the 30,000 parishioners, was laid before the Brandenburg Consistory, requesting it to refuse confirmation to Dr. Hosbach. The Consistory did so. Thereupon a vestry was summoned, and an overwhelming majority repeated its choice of Hosbach, and referred the case to the decision of the Supreme Consistory. It is only four years since another Berlin pastor, Dr. Sydow, was arraigned before the Brandenburg Consistory for heresy, and acquitted on the grounds that his heresy had been promulgated in the chair of the lecturer, not in the pulpit. Dr. Hermann, President of the Supreme Consistory, was promoted to his place, in order to carry out the Kulturkampf against recalcitrant pastors. As the only pastors who were troublesome were orthodox, his influence has been to extend rationalism in the Evangelical Church. He filled all vacancies in the Administrative Board with men of broad views. Dr. Hermann had to hear the appeal against the Brandenburg Consistory made by the favourers of Hosbach. His position was more delicate than before. The Emperor was alarmed at the advance of rationalism, at the boldness with which fundamental doctrines were denied in the pulpits of the Church of which he was Sovereign Pontiff, and Hermann could no longer follow the bent of his desires. On February 1, 1878, accordingly, the appeal was rejected. Consequently, Hosbach does not obtain the pulpit of St. James; but, on the other hand, he remains unmolested as pastor of the Church of St. Andrew in Berlin.

A clergyman, whom I knew, was appointed by the Government, Protestant instructor to the boys in the gymnasium. An English gentleman in the town married to a German lady sent his son to the school, and he attended the divinity lectures of the Evangelical pastor. One day, after having given the pupils an elaborate description of the way in which the world was evolved out of nebulous matter, he turned to the English boy, and said, "Now, Wilson, how came the world into being?" The boy who—like most English lads—cared little for learned questions, had paid no attention, and answered simply, "God made it." "You blockhead! (*Dummkopf!*)" exclaimed the pastor, catching him a rap on the cheek, "how long will you and your compatriots cling to these old wives' tales (*Mährchen*)?"

This pastor is now appointed to a fashionable watering-place.

In the Saxon Church in 1811 an oath was imposed on the clergy "to teach pure evangelical doctrine as contained in Holy Scripture, and interpreted in the Augsburg Confession." This was modified into a promise in 1862, and in 1871 further modified, so as to admit of being taken by pastors with the most advanced rationalistic views.

Pastor Bernet sadly writes:[1] "What great advantage have we really derived from Luther's reformation? Does anything remain to us of the results of his vigorous exertions, beyond an empty form and a poor caricature? Where is the living faith which he set up in the place of an external righteousness of works? And where is the spirituality of worship, which, according to the mind and will of Christ, he demanded? One might almost imagine that our Church got rid of the forms, in order, at the same time, to divest itself of the spirit. In the place of the spirit were given, at first, creeds and confessions of faith, which were originally exacted as a matter of necessity, but afterwards became stony tablets of the law. With them and their artificial exposition came over our Church a complete Pharisaism, which threatened to stifle the free breath of life. Then came Pietism, partly in various sects, which was a burden to the Church, and neither yielded her any assistance, nor obtained success for itself. After this began the period of Rationalism, and many lifted up their heads, as though their redemption drew nigh. For a time they dreamed of a happy, simple religion, in which they were to behold God with unveiled faces, and no longer under types and images. But the new edifice not only failed to afford the expected advantage of a better spiritual dwelling for man, but soon began itself to totter and fall to the ground. The great mass of the people took only the negative side of Rationalism, the right of declaring themselves free from every belief which rests upon authority, without being willing to under take also the (certainly unnatural) duty of making a religion for themselves. The new idols stood again, like the old, as empty shadows on the wall, and the people went a-whoring, as before, after their material gods. Religiousness perceptibly declined, the temples emptied, the prayers and hymns were felt to be insipid, the sermons trivial, the vigorous doctrine of the Reformers gave way to a string of timid apologies. Verily, religion was given us by God, and there came at one time a rational belief, and at another unbelieving reason; and our Reformers have touched and retouched the painting, until its true form has altogether disappeared, and it must be recreated by the spirit of God."

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[1] *Das neue Heil u. das geschriebene Wort.* S. Gallen.

Candidates for the ministry are failing.[1] In January, 1880, for the whole Protestant Church in the Bavarian Palatinate, and in Baden, *i.e.* for 865,000 Protestants, there were twenty-one candidates at Heidelberg; in 1878 only thirteen. For Baden alone, with 491,000 Protestants, there were in 1876 only six candidates for orders. In that year three pastors died, five retired from the ministry, four were superannuated; consequently there were twelve vacancies.

If elsewhere matters are not so bad, it is due, in great measure, to the fact that times are bad, and it is difficult for young men to get work in other professions. Pastor Zittel, Dean of Karlsruhe, noting the declension of attendance at church, asks whether an improvement of the services would attract congregations. But, he answers, anything liturgical would be clean contrary to the principles of Evangelicalism, and such an idea must be given up. Thinking that doctrinal hymns and those of the Litany description give offence and keep people from church—hymns such as Grant's "Saviour, when in dust to Thee," etc.—he proposes their omission; that the prayers should be abandoned, the creed abolished, and the sermon converted into a lecture. The Dean's only notion of recovering an audience is to go altogether with the rationalistic stream.[2] But, will the interest of an audience continue after all the books in the Bible and articles in the Creed have been demolished?

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[1] "In consequence of the deficiency of candidates which has come about in some parts sooner, in others later, but especially in the last ten years, in ever increasing measure, many parishes are left without pastors."—Graue: *Der Mangel an Theologen.* Berlin, 1876. Within a walk—an easy walk of my house, last winter, were two parishes devoid of incumbents, and I heard of many more—going a-begging. But there were no applicants.

[2] Zittel: *Der Protestantische Gottesdienst.* Berlin, 1875.

If the Evangelical Church were a moral power, we might forgive it for being without a belief; but this it is not. It exercises little if any moral influence over consciences, which are moulded by social custom and law, and not by ethical instruction given by the Church.

The union was a centralising measure. The object was to make the Church, like the post-office, telegraphs, and army, a department of the State, ruled by a special Minister of Public Worship as vicar-general under the Sovereign. This is so obvious, that the Social Democrats, to spite the Government, are agitating to leave the established Church in a mass. For proposing this measure, some of their speakers have been prosecuted as guilty of treason. On February 1, 1878, a large gathering of women was assembled in the Renz Hall in Berlin, for the purpose of registering their secession from the Evangelical Church. The account of this meeting I extract from a German paper of February 3:—

"The hall was crammed long before the time announced—half-past eight. On the platform were Most and the Missiondirektor Wangemann. Women of all ages were there, some in white nightcaps, and many fresh-cheeked young girls. The chair was taken by Frau Präsidentin Hahn. She introduced Most, who began: 'Gentlemen! (*a burst of shrill voices—'Ladies! ladies!'*) —I beg your pardon, ladies! I have so often had to address men, that for a moment I forgot that I was not called to speak before my usual audience.' He then proceeded to say that the attendance of so many women showed the interest they took in the matter, and that they were not content to remain in the great political and religious movements of the day, as non-effectives (*lit.* as a fifth wheel). He was interrupted by cries of 'Water! water!' for a lady of the audience had fainted, and the carrying of her out caused some commotion. 'Woman,' he continued, when silence was re-established, 'has been enslaved for ages and consigned to the background. Even the Bible says that man was made the colossus of the earth, and woman was an afterthought fashioned out of a rib (*cries of 'Shame! shame!'*). Women and girls in the social crush are squeezed as lemons. Men elbow their way to the front, but women are trodden into the dirt of the street. What are the wages the working-man gets? Are they enough to support him, and keep him from beggary in his old age? (*Tremendous applause.*) And how then does it fare with women? Can they lay by for a rainy day? Now German men have organized a society for the reduction of the misery of mankind, for expelling the idlers and hucksters out of the Temple, and for enthroning freedom and fraternity in the earth. This society is Social Democracy. Let not women be frightened by the scaring name, but rather goad their husbands into Social Democracy.' Herr Most went on to explain the alphabet of Social Democracy, with a running accompaniment of attacks on capitalists, speculators, the Fortschritt party, the Liberals, the Catholic Union, and the Christian Socialists. The people, he said, must not let themselves be fed on adulterated milk, and that was what the Christian Socialists were offering them.[1] He and his party had hitherto let the pastors alone, and it was false to assert that he was invariably scoffing at Christianity. But when pastors entered into political meetings and tried to throw dust in the eyes of the people, and form a party to break up the united phalanx of Social Democracy, then it was time for them to be up and attack the pastors, and rend them to pieces, as they attempted to rend Social Democracy. (*Enthusiastic applause.*) It was now Pull Tiger pull Duff! As the pastors had sought to withdraw the people from Social Democracy, he demanded that the people as a body should secede from the established Church. To this he invited the women. He called on them openly to proclaim their separation from a Church in which they had ceased to believe (*applause*), and to declare: 'We will have our heaven upon earth, for that which is future we believe not in. Our gospel is Social Democracy, and Social Democracy is our creed. Here on earth will we enjoy ourselves. Let the idle bellies no longer devour what the active hands have earned. Here we will revel and not rot.' (*Tremendous and prolonged cheers, then commotion caused by the fainting of several girls.*)

"Frau Schultze then rose and asked that the speeches might be intermitted to allow of the audience refreshing themselves with beer. This was rejected by a majority in a show of hands, and the proceedings continued. Beer was passed over the heads of the audience to those who demanded it, whilst the speeches went on, till an altercation arose from some who had taken the beer declining to pay for it, when the proprietor of the buffet refused to pass any more in this manner.

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[1] A semi-Socialist society founded by some Berlin pastors, well-intentioned, but not successful.

"Frau Hahn[1] continued the proceedings. 'Ladies!' she said, 'I will tell you how it is that I am here in this assembly. I am the mother of five children. It is a long time since I shook myself clear of the Church. Why so? Because I was sick of my belief; what I am I have made myself! ('*Bravo!*') I hold to the foundation, Do right and fear no man. I want no Bible, and no pastor, and no law! (*Applause.*) I am not a wife only, but also an aunt. My husband has two sisters, who live in a miserable den. One is advanced in life, and has two unbaptized children. The other is unmarried and sickly; she suffers from bad legs. As aunt, I went there and declared that I would help them to the best of my ability so long as the children remained unbaptized, but that if they were given this Sacrament, I would shake off my interest in them, and leave them to shift for themselves! ('*Bravo!*') The other day I entered this den, and found there two men, one with his hair cropped, the other with his long. "Halloo!" said I, "what do these fanatics (*Mucker*) want here?" (*Laughter.*) And when they said something about baptism and the Church, I made bold to tell them a bit of my mind, and bade them pack out of the house, for it was a disgrace for them to be in it; and I threatened if they did not depart at once, to charge them before the police with having come there for improper purposes! (*Thunders of applause.*) Ladies, let us pluck up courage. What are we? We are the money-hoarders at home. We know what social questions mean. Let us buckle to it and drive our husbands into Social Democracy. We need no church, we need no pastors, we——'" (here followed a sentence so gross that the German papers did not report it). "(*Applause.*) 'If you want a belief, invent one for yourselves. If you want to pray, go into your closet. If you must have a pastor, ordain your own?' (*Stormy applause and protracted laughter.*)

"Frau Schlamsky then rose and said: 'The other day a pastor came to me and spoke of my children and church-going. I said to him, "We have no time for that sort of thing, and as for Christian charity, not a crust have I had from my pastor!"' (*Loud approval.*)

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[1] Hahn, I may observe, is generally a *Jewish* name.

"Fräulein Höfer next attempted the narration of her grievances, but began sobbing, and could not continue. This caused much merriment, which only increased the young woman's distress. Whereupon the presidentess called order, and requested the audience to show more sympathy with a suffering damsel who was labouring under a broken heart.

"Frau Lehmann[1] then told of a pastor who had given a Bible and an old shirt to a starving woman. And so the meeting went on.

"Director Wangemann made an oratorical panegyric on womankind in general. Herr Most again insisted on all right-minded women seceding from the Evangelical Church. Frau Naun seconded this proposal, and announced, amidst loud applause, that thenceforth she had done with parsons.

"It was long after midnight when the meeting broke up. From the hall all down the Naunyn-Strasse was a long tail of men shivering in the cold, waiting for their respective wives, daughters, and sweethearts."

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[1] Another Jewish name.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

> Was bringt Ihr neues, Jery?—
> Das Alte, Bätely.
>
> GOETHE: *Jery u. Bätely.*

PERSONS with fixed incomes have, during the last ten or fifteen years, found a growing difficulty in making both ends meet. The price of everything has increased. Labour is dearer, coals at one time double in price, and up with coals goes the price of iron. It costs a third more to build a house than it did five years ago. It is always pleasant to have a whipping-boy. Those pinched in means, and those capitalists who cannot turn over their money and make it grow by geometric progression, must lay blame somewhere, and trades-unions are the common object of abuse and denunciation.

"The workmen," says Adam Smith, "desire to get as much, the masters to give as little, as possible. The former are disposed to combine in order to raise, the latter in order to lower, the wages of labour." What is sauce for the goose, is sauce also for the gander. If it be lawful for employers to unite to keep the price of labour down, it is lawful also for the employed to unite to enforce what they consider a proper recognition of the value of their labour.

In Edward III.'s reign the Statute of Labourers was passed, which limited wages at a time when a diminution of the working-classes by a pestilence made labour more valuable. "Such laws," says Mr. Mill, with noble indignation, "exhibit the infernal spirit of the slave-master, when to retain the working-classes in avowed slavery has ceased to be practicable." So late as 1725 the Manchester Justices in quarter-sessions drew up a tariff of wages, and ordained that workmen conspiring to obtain more should for the third offence stand in the pillory and lose an ear.

If there be but one mercer's shop in a country town, he may put his own price on his ribands, but if there be two or three, competition will bring the prices down. If there be but one gardener in a town, all the old ladies who want their flower-beds put to rights will compete with one another to get him, and he may command almost any wage. But if there be twenty, and only a dozen gardens to be trimmed, the competition for work is on the side of the men, and the old ladies hire the cheapest. If competition be too brisk, the mercers will sell below cost, and the gardeners work for what will not support their families: one will fail, the other starve. Before this takes place, in their mutual interests the mercers agree among themselves to take a moderate profit, and the gardeners to ask a reasonable wage, and not to undersell one another. What is fair and just for the tradesman, is fair and just for the labourer.

When the population is very numerous, there is a tendency, in the order of nature, for labour to become very cheap. It may become so cheap that men cannot support families on what they earn. They must therefore unite, and fix the price of their labour. They are perfectly justified in so doing. Trades-unions are a social necessity. They may have acted injuriously to the men's interests, and to the general prosperity of trade in the country, in some cases, but that was because they were experiments in England, and young institutions must make blunders before they go right. A child strums discords before it strikes harmonies; stumbles and gets blows before it walks upright. What is regrettable in the matter of trades-unions is, not that they exist, but that they did not exist earlier; that we should be living in the age of their discords and tumbles, and not of their harmonies and uprightness.

The labour question is a very much more delicate one, and subject to more changing influences than it was a quarter of a century ago. In 1861, Professor Beesly recommended workmen to keep up the price of labour by keeping down the number of their children. He wrote: "Although plenty of men are to be found in every rank of life, who recklessly produce families which they have no means of supporting, there are only two classes of whom it may be said, that such shameless selfishness is the rule rather than the exception—the agricultural paupers, and the clergy of the Established Church. Both these classes abdicate all responsibility, and are content to leave the prospects of their offspring to chance or charity. Among the skilled mechanics earning comfortable wages, there is, we believe, something more of prudence and self-respect; but it is hardly to be expected that improvement in this respect will become general, so long as public opinion looks leniently upon conduct as degrading as it is anti-social. At present, if an artisan limits his family within reasonable bounds, it is for reasons that concern only himself and those dependent on him. He objects to diminish his comforts, he thinks it his duty to give his children a fair start in life; he desires to exempt his wife from the miserable drudgery which a large and constantly increasing family entails. All these motives deserve the highest respect; but regard for the interests of his class would be a still nobler principle of action." So infanticide, or what is as bad, is to help to keep up the wages of the working-classes! The advice is as unnatural as it is immoral, and what is more, it will not answer its purpose. The price of labour is not now regulated by the number of candidates for work among the English artisans. Railways and steamboats have widened the circle whence the produce of labour is drawn. The gaps artificially made in our population, acting on Professor Beesly's advice, are filled with Germans and Italians.

It is a question which must be solved in the next ten or fifteen years, whether, in the presence of modern facilities of traffic and inter-communication, the present organisation of trades-unions can be made available. An international union may succeed, but then it may be doubted whether all the teeming thousands of thousands asking for work in the wide world can be compelled to enter it. Already in London, and Manchester, and Liverpool, Germans have dethroned English clerks from their stools, because they are content with lower wages. The iron for the new Law Courts came from Belgium. Half a century ago all Normandy was supplied with cotton and woollen goods from Manchester and Leeds. Now the fair landscape about Rouen and Elbœuf bristles with chimneys, and the water reeks with dye. A few years ago our cloths and serges found their way over South Germany. Now the valleys of the Bavarian and Austrian Alps, and of Switzerland, are crowded with mills. All spring, autumn, and summer, water-power from the mountains is available at no cost. Labour is cheap, for a stream of operatives pours over the Brenner and up the Finstermünz from overteeming Italy, asking work at any price. Consequently manufacturers there can undersell English goods, and have banished them from the market.

France has artificially kept down its natural growth of children. The men of Vorarlberg, Montafun, the Bregenzer Wald, etc., pour over France when the frosts yield, and do mason's work. But for that influx, the price of labour in the building-trade would be enormous—so enormous that there would be no building done.[1] An intimate friend had a fixed sum of money to lay out in adding a drawing-room and staircase to his house. It could not be done handsomely, and in keeping with the rest of the house, in England, for the sum he had at his disposal. He had a carved oak staircase, plaster ceiling, parqueterie floor, carved and panelled walls and chimney-piece, and sculptured stonework completed in Germany, and sent him to England. And the whole came to less than the sum he had estimated, just half the sum it would have cost in England.

Window and door frames come ready made in thousands from Norway. An English joiner will charge—say thirty shillings for a window-frame. A Norwegian frame costs twenty shillings. Consequently the Norwegian carpenter gets the job, and not the English tradesman. The Carpenters' Union is worsted by free trade, by foreign competition.

But I am not writing an article on the principles of trades-unions, but on the labour question as it stands in Germany. There also trades-unions exist, and capitalists have had difficulties with them, but not to the same extent as in England. They are not there modern creations, but legitimate children of mediæval organisations. The labour question is not one of to-day only, it is not, as is supposed, an introduction of the modern system of manufacture, the result of wholesale production. It existed before factory manufacture, when wholesale business was unknown, when each artisan worked in his house assisted by a few apprentices. It came to the surface again and again during the Middle Ages, with more or less dangerous symptoms, attended with more or less violence; for, in fact, it became a necessity from the moment that slavery ceased, and free labour entered the field, and that is more than a thousand years ago. It is a question intimately linked with the rise and fall of the prices of food, and the growth of requirements of life, as cause and effect. It is a question starting into the foreground the moment the artisan is allowed participation in the good things of life, and does not depend, as in slavery, on the will of his lord, and receive from him everything as an unmerited gift. As soon as the workman is free, he becomes a contracting party in an engagement, and his consent must be won before he will undertake a work. His time is his own, his hands are his own, his skill is his own, and he may fix upon them what price he chooses.

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[1] A stonecutter or mason in France in 1878 got five francs a day and his keep.

The three great questions of contention between master and man have been: 1. The right of the former to import foreign labour, and so keep down the price of native labour. 2. The number of hours which the artisan is to work. And 3. The wage he is to receive for his labour.

The first matter of dispute rarely came to the front in Germany; it was not a burning question, as in England and America. In Germany, it was customary for the *Gesell*, the ancestor of the workman of to-day, to travel all over the country, even over Europe, working wherever he could, and picking up everywhere experience.

It was different in England. Our apprentices did not leave the island; and maintained a jealous suspicion of foreigners. In 1517, on the eve of May day, the 'prentices of London rose in riot against the foreigners who had settled in the City, and were carrying away, as they thought, the profits from English industry. On May day eve the Alderman of the ward arrested an apprentice who with others was playing at bucklers in Cheapside, as a whisper had gone through London that on May day all foreigners were to be massacred. This was the signal for an outbreak. "Clubs! clubs!" was the cry. In an instant a mob of some 700 persons was in arms in Cheapside; and soon after, a body of 300 more turned the corner from St. Paul's Churchyard. The prisoner was rescued, Newgate was forced, and all who had been imprisoned for violence to foreigners released. The riot grew worse and worse; expresses were sent to the King: Sir Thomas More himself rode forth to try and pacify the mob; Cardinal Wolsey was in conference with the City authorities; the Lieutenant of the Tower was shooting off certain pieces of ordnance against the City, but doing no great hurt. Towards three o'clock of the morning the young rioters' strength began to fail, and many were taken prisoners. The King was furious. No half measures would satisfy him. Two hundred and seventy eight prisoners, some lads of thirteen or fourteen years old, were brought through the streets, tied with ropes, to trial; thirteen were adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and for the execution of this sentence ten pairs of gallows were set up above the City. The 7th of May was to witness this prompt administration of the law; and one had already forfeited his life, when a reprieve from the King arrived.

In 1586 again, a conspiracy was formed by the apprentices of London for a general massacre of the foreigners, but a timely discovery of the plot handed over some of the ringleaders to the safe custody of Newgate, and saved the body at large from the disgrace of such an outrage. The number of foreigners at this time in London was considerable. For when the numbers were taken in 1593, they were found to amount to 5,259.

Chinese labour has begun seriously to tell on the price of native labour in America. We might import any number of Italians for any sort of work, and the Tyrolean valleys would supply us with any number of masons.

As regards length of time for which the artisan worked, this was a matter touching him too closely not to be subject of dispute, when it was not settled by traditional usage. An unwritten law generally existed fixing the time when work began and when it broke off. The church bell sounded for both. To this day, in districts where the railway has not introduced new ideas, the bauer dares not plough and hoe his own plot of land before or after the customary hour. He injures no one by rising early and working late, but he breaks immemorial custom, and that is sacred, made sacred as a treaty of peace contracted between master and man, bauer and landlord, before the soil fell to him. Only twice in the year came a variation: in spring and in autumn. Then arose the question of work by candlelight. Should the apprentice go on working by lamplight, when the daylight failed, till the church bell sounded his release, or did the cessation of daylight emancipate him? That was a question hotly controverted.

This question was, however, settled at last by compromise between employer and employed. Before the autumn equinox the apprentice was not obliged to work by artificial light. If the clouds obscured the sun, or the mist was so dense that he could not see, then he was not forced to continue his work, however many lamps and candles were lighted in the shop. But it was different after the autumn equinox: then the church bell, and not daylight, released him.

To establish the compact as a custom, several usages were introduced. On the eve of the autumn equinox, the "Lichtganz," a roast-goose, was served for supper, and as soon as the goose had been partaken of, the duty of work by candlelight began. In spring, the close of work by candlelight was marked by other customs. At Nürnberg, on the eve of the vernal equinox, an iron candelabrum containing twelve candles was carried in procession by the 'prentices to the Pegnitz and there extinguished. From that moment the workman was not bound to his task after dusk. Such customs served to stamp the arrangement as a rule which was not to be broken, and long after the quaint ceremonies were abandoned, the rule was rigidly held. But the strife about the duration of labour was not laid at rest altogether; it altered its face, and became one, not of hours, but of days. It had been settled during how many hours of the day the artisan was to work, but not on how many days in the week. He asked a day's holiday, Monday; he sought to shorten his period of work from six days to five, and in this form the contest continued to be waged till the present century, when it has reverted to the number of hours. I shall return to the "Guten Montag" presently.

Other means were adopted for reconciling the conflicting interests of master and man. The former paid the same sum whether the man worked eight or nine hours a day, five or six days a week, and whether he worked with a will or idled. Piecework was therefore introduced. The master paid only for work done. Under the old system the idling of the man was a loss to the master, by piecework it was a loss to the idler. This very simple arrangement allowed of a diligent man earning more than a lazy one. It encouraged application and technical skill. Many trades reserved to themselves the privilege of paying by piecework. Others left it to agreement between masters and men, which mode of payment was to be adopted. Uniformity existed as little, nay less, than in our own day, for piece payment was an impossibility in many branches of trade.

It is, therefore, the more remarkable, that trades which had hitherto preferred piecework, and in which it alone was customary suddenly altered their practice, forbade it, and ordered the men to be paid by the hour or week. Trades which in the fourteenth century had required all masters to give out their work by piece, in the following century forbade it peremptorily; and the reason for this was, that it was found detrimental to the quality of the work. The artisans scamped their work; they sought to gain more wage by quantity produced than by excellence of quality. The important trade of fustian-weavers in Ulm had piecework till the beginning of the fifteenth century, then it was forbidden, because the merchants complained of the deterioration in the fustian, and threatened to withdraw their custom from Ulm. Curiously enough, piecework was complained of and refused by many labourers on the same grounds. They declared that it was injurious to the quality of the work, and gave advantages to the unscrupulous workman. As the quality declined, the price of the goods went down, and thus the honest artisan suffered for the dishonesty of the other.

In the fifteenth century, the tailors of Basel refused to continue piecework, because they said that system acted injuriously on the trade,—the bad artisan who ran his work together, and sent it out looking well, but falling to pieces on first wear, was better paid than the patient and conscientious man who fastened off all his threads, and locked his stitches. The tailors of Basel demanded that all should be paid a day's wage alike, whether they were experienced hands or new beginners.

Piecework, which at first sight seems such a ready solution to the difficulty, so just and natural, on experience has proved to be defective. It does not unite sufficiently the interests of the employer and employed for the production of good work. A closer union of interests has been sought of late in the system of *tantième* partnership or co-operation. Piecework and timework alike have their disadvantages. In timework, the master pays for the idleness of his men; in piecework, the work itself deteriorates, and the good artisan suffers for the scamping of the idler. Co-operative undertakings are free from these evils: the net gain which went into the employer's pocket is divided among the operatives. As the prices rise, so does the wage; one regulates the other. This, the ideal condition, is not so modern a system as is supposed. It was very general, though not quite in the modern form, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The receipts of the week were thrown into a box, and this was unlocked on Sunday, and the contents divided according to a pre-arranged contract. The workman got the third, fourth, or fifth penny. Artisans engaging on this system were called "Theilknechte," or "Büchsengesellen." This sort of wage ceased at the end of the seventeenth century. In more recent times it has been again attempted, but under a modern form, by Schulze-Delitzsch. The modern "Genossenschaften" are associations of artisans or small manufacturers, with the object of uniting their active ability and small capitals against the overwhelming power of the large employers. The old guilds of the German towns were able to enforce their decrees on all the members of the craft, and no craftsman could exist outside the guild. The modern "Genossenschaften" are free associations of artisans. They were first started in Germany in 1860, and since that date have grown and spread. The experiments have not, however, lasted sufficiently long, or been sufficiently numerous, for a judgment to be formed upon them. Theoretically no system can be fairer, or more calculated to promote activity, interest in their work, and contentment among the associates, but, as in the case of piecework, there may be a disturbing element in the calculation on which we have not reckoned, and which will only come to light when the experiment has been given a trial of at least a quarter of a century.

It is certain that the mediæval attempts at co-operation failed; and it is impossible not to conclude that in some manner not very clear to us, they missed their aim, and proved as open to objection as piecework. This was so, moreover, under circumstances far more favourable to success than the present.

In olden times there were no large manufactories with many hundred workmen in them, but a host of little masters, each of whom took a fixed number of apprentices. A few years ago it was much the same in the Yorkshire dales of the Western Hills. The rattle of the loom sounded from every house. Each householder had a few workmen under him. The large manufacturers built their factories, used steam, and beat the little weavers out of the field; those who had been masters were forced to become operatives in the great mill. In the Middle Ages, the "Gesellen" were the workmen under the master, but they were not workmen doomed to be under subjection all their lives. After a few years they obtained the freedom of the city, and became masters themselves. Every master was therefore bound to train his apprentice to become eventually independent. For this purpose he was legally required to give him an insight into every particular of the business. The apprentice acquired from his master not only technical skill and dexterity in the manufacture, but also the requisite knowledge of all that pertained to the business commercially. He was taught the cost of the raw material, to calculate the expense of working it up, and to reckon the net profits. He was sent to purchase the raw stuff, and attended his master at the marts at which the material was sold, after having gone through his hands. If the master failed to give his pupil this knowledge, to let him into all the mysteries of the trade, he was punished by his guild. Consequently, the apprentice knew exactly the economy of the business, he knew what wage it would afford, and whether the profits would allow of it being raised, or necessitated its being lowered. In those trades where such an insight could not be granted, which depended on the skill of the individual, and was less mechanical, in painting, or goldsmith's work, for instance, the system of *tantième* never prevailed.

Under such circumstances as described, no difficulties about wage were likely to arise. There could be no conflict of opinion between master and men. All knew what the net profits were, and what was the share due to the employer, and what fell to the employed. The only question which might be disputed, was whether the mechanic should have the third, the fourth, or the fifth penny; but this was usually determined by the cost of the raw material and of production. This system answered well enough under old simple commerical conditions; but when everything bought ceased to be paid for in ready money, and bills, and promissory notes, and outstanding accounts with accumulating interest upon them entered into the ledger, when perhaps for some weeks the box was without money to be divided, then the *tantième* ceased to be practised. It was impossible to carry it out. Manufactures were carried on on a larger scale, and it was not practicable to submit the accounts to the operatives. Modern commerce made the ledger a riddle except to those who had been educated to interpret it. In extensive manufactures, with wide commercial ramifications and minute subdivision of labour, a vast number of those employed know, and can know, only their own special branch of the industry, and have neither the knowledge nor the capacity for judging of the cost and risk of a speculation. They cannot keep their hands at work on the spinning-jennies and at the same time on the pulse of trade. The disposal of the gross receipt, how much of it is to go to the mechanic, and how much into his own pocket, must be left to the employer.

The workmen have little knowledge of the meaning of capital, of the cost, and especially the risks, of trade. They underrate all these, mistrust the employer, and will not be persuaded that they receive a fair proportion of the profits.

Under the mediæval system of retail manufacture, co-operation was simple enough, but with the modern system of wholesale manufacture its success is problematical. The condition is less favourable, and it may well be doubted whether co-operative production of manufactured goods is practicable. Success in business is like success in war, it depends on instantaneous perception of what is needed, and on rapid execution. In it, as Hamlet says, "the readiness is all!" A great business can no more be carried on successfully by a parliament of all employed in it, than can a campaign by conducting it in accordance with the opinions and votes of the soldiers engaged. One must take the risks and reap the ruin or the glory.

As soon as the trades in the German towns had begun to associate themselves in guilds—and this took place in the twelfth century—they formed corporations of really wonderful organisation. The members were bound together with a firmness such as probably no other body, not even the Church, exhibited. Whoever would support himself from his trade must enter the association of his trade, and submit without appeal to all its laws. As there was no salvation out of the Church, there was no working at a trade out of a guild. The only escape was to take refuge on the lands of a noble. He had the privilege to harbour artisans who would not belong to their trade-union. In each union, every member who belonged to it, belonged with his wife, sons and daughters, servants, maids and apprentices. All were received into the union and all were forced to obey its laws. Whatever concerned a member, touched the body, affected the whole trade; joy or sorrow a birth of a child, a marriage, a death, whether of master, servant or child, was a common matter of rejoicing or lamentation to the entire guild. Whoever transgressed a law of his union paid the penalty in money, and was excluded for a shorter or longer time from the trade; and during excommunication dared not work at it. This power of the trade was not exercised merely about trade concerns, but the whole life of the member was placed under supervision. Offences against morals were punished by it, just as were infringements of trade regulations. Indeed, the guilds were armed with power of fining, and confiscation, and imprisonment to an unlimited extent; only power over life, and of mutilation, was reserved to the Sovereign. This bond and discipline were common to all trades alike, even—though more rarely—to those specially filled with women, as the guilds of midwives and of sempstresses. The determination of rules and privileges fell to the masters alone, who met in their guild-halls, and legislated for their respective trades as republican despots.

But this account does not complete the idea of the power of these unions. The tradesmen in one town were not isolated, they were in intercommunication with the trades-unions in other towns.

At certain times, on the so-called "Handwerkstage," the masters of the confederated cities assembled, or appeared by deputies in a certain town, and in parliament determined the laws which should have force in their guild in all the confederated towns. The trades were united in districts. Thus the guilds of all the towns of Swabia were united, so were those on the Upper, Middle, and Lower Rhine, in Lower Saxony, Silesia, etc. In 1457 and 1484 the tailors of the Upper Rhine and Frankfurt held a diet at Speier, in which delegates from the tailor guilds in twenty towns appeared. In the sixteenth century the bakers of Hildesheim, Brunswick, Alsfeld, Bokum, and other towns held a diet at

Hildesheim, and, as an old chronicler says, "ate up on that occasion all the calves in the place."

The larger trades extended their union throughout Germany. At their diets, laws were passed which were to be in force for a fixed period, eight or ten years. These laws regulated everything concerning the trade, especially the manner in which the wage was to be paid, the proportion in which it should stand to the net receipt, and the treatment of the artisans and apprentices. All this was comprised in the word "Gesellenrecht." In the Middle Ages there were various "rights:" the right by which nobles were judged; the "Landesrecht," which ruled the condition of the yeoman and peasant; the "Bürgerrecht," by which the citizens were governed; and the "Gesellenrecht," which was the code of the trades. A master who did not submit to this right, who, for instance, made his own private arrangements with his workmen, different from those sanctioned by the trade-union, was fined. If he repeated the offence, he was dismissed the guild. A workman who would not accept the terms agreed to was obliged to leave his master, and no other master in the district dare give him work, at the risk of being himself expelled the union. The artisan was, however, protected in his rights equally with the master. No employer dared to deduct any portion from the wage allotted to his man.

It will be seen that the determination of the wage lay exclusively and altogether with the masters; or, to use a modern expression, capital was then far more able to oppress labour than at present. Whether the masters abused their power or not, and did in fact oppress the labourer, we do not know. Chronicles are silent thereon. This condition of affairs did not, however, last very long; for already in the fourteenth century, the union of masters in every trade found itself face to face with a union of men, who sought to escape this subjection, and the relations became rapidly inverted.

The unions of men were founded originally with the knowledge and consent of the masters, and had, at first, a pious object; the members assisted one another in sickness, and attended one another to the grave. The union gave weekly support to the crippled artisan, and supported his widow and children. Membership became compulsory. The masters highly approved these associations, for they kept the members under moral supervision.

Before very long these unions became as powerful as those of the trade, and, like the latter, exercised despotic control over the members. They met and voted the customs of the trade—the "Gesellengewohnheiten." Whoever transgressed the custom was punished by a fine or by exclusion. An excluded artisan was forced to leave the trade: no other artisan would associate with him, even speak to him, till he had expiated his offence. The master was obliged to dismiss him, as his other hands refused to work so long as he was given employment.

These associations did not confine themselves to the establishment of "customs of the trade;" they extended their authority to matters which affected, not men only, but masters as well. In passing rules on the time of work, and on the mode of payment, they came into conflict with the whole "Gesellenrecht." Hitherto the masters alone had adjudicated on these matters. Now that the men had discovered their power, they wanted to become the sole adjudicators.

Already in the fourteenth century the "Meisterschaft" and the "Gesellenschaft" stood threateningly opposite each other; both elaborately organised; both able to enforce absolute control over their members; both struggling for the power to determine the duration of the time of work, and the manner of payment. The "Meisterschaft" was able and prepared to punish every master, to exclude him from the guild, that is, to cut off his means of livelihood, if he transgressed its prescripts; and to refuse work to every man who would not submit to its regulations. The "Gesellenschaft" was able and prepared to forbid its members to work for any master who did not yield to the demands of the association, and to starve every workman into submission who ventured into the shop of a master who had fallen under the ban of the guild of artisans.

A master who wished to come to terms with his man and give him more than was prescribed by the guild of masters, dared not do so; and the man who was ready to agree with his master and remain in his service might not do so. The strife was not between master and man, but between guild and guild.

The situation was precisely like the present, in which a combination of employers stands opposed to a combination of operatives in the building, iron and coal trades. But then the masters gave way: step by step the union of men advanced, till they had gained almost as absolute a command as had been previously enjoyed by the masters. But the advance was only step by step both in the matter of duration of time of work and rate of wage.

The half Monday was freely accorded the men by the masters at a very early period, to enable the workman to do what was necessary for himself without having to pay for getting it done, as mending his clothes, his furniture, hoeing his garden, etc. This was first accorded by the tailors, shoemakers, furriers, and weavers; thence it made its way into other trades, and became a *custom*. The demand for holiday was then extended to the second half of Monday. After much dissension the holiday question was thus settled for a while. When no festival came in the week—and this was rarely the case—then the master was bound to give a holiday on Monday, but, if a festival occurred, then the man was required to work on the Monday. Thus the working week was normally fixed at five days. But this did not long content the men. The Monday under all circumstances they must count on as their own. The masters fought hard against this. It was decided that if an operative took two days for his pleasure during the week, the master should dock him the wage for a day. The union of the men opposed this in its usual way. The master who withheld the wage lost his workmen, and could get none till he yielded. By this means they carried their point. With only occasional exceptions the amount of days of work in the week was reduced to four The Reformation came to the help of the masters, by reducing the number of festivals: the men kept their Mondays, but lost the Saints' days.

The battle of the *wage* took two forms. In most trades it was the law that the workman or 'prentice should live with the master, and eat and drink at his table. He received his wage for the most part in *naturalia*, only the smaller portion in money. But in some trades the artisans were allowed to marry and set up separate households without becoming masters in the trade. Such was the case in the masons' trade, but this privilege extended to few others. The reason was simple. In weaving, shoemaking, farriery, every man could have a loom, a last, or an anvil. The work to be done was accomplished in small portions. But it was not so with building. On a church, or a town-hall, many scores of men were engaged, and they must be all under the direction of one master-mason. Weavers might do with one or two hands, masons must have at command at least a score, sometimes a hundred. It was in the masons' trade alone, or almost alone, that, in the Middle Ages, a business approached the proportions of modern times.

Workmen living with their masters were on a much more easy footing than those who paid for their own lodging and food. The fluctuations in the price of firing and victuals did not affect them, but the master. Hard times touched them only so far that the quantity or quality of the food given them was reduced. They had precisely as much pocket-money to spend on Sunday. Nevertheless, this portion of the wage gave occasion for as hot dispute as that which was paid in cash. The demands for an improved table were numerous. In this case the immediate opponent of the 'prentices was not the master, but the mistress; but this did not lighten the controversy. When the 'prentices and artisans felt themselves aggrieved and could obtain no redress, they rose in bodies, and either threatened or carried out an exodus. The quarrels about victuals raged so fiercely, that the Imperial Government was obliged, on more than one occasion, to intervene, and interdict the artisans dictating the bill of fare to their masters and mistresses.

If the sum paid in wage did not content the men, they carried their point by means of a strike. It was not uncommon for tumults occasioned by a contest about wage to end in blows, and bloodshed, and the calling in of assistance by masters and men from their associates in the neighbouring cities.

The end of all disputes in words was a strike on the part of the men. They left their work, and marshalling their ranks, threatened to desert the town unless their demands were complied with. Sometimes they carried their threat into execution, and the looms and workshops were silent and empty. Then the masters sent after the men on strike, and the contest was ended by arbitration, or by the meeting of the masters of the guild and the heads of the workmen's union, who agreed to terms, and concluded a peace which they flattered themselves would be eternal. The past was forgiven and forgotten. The buzz of active labour was heard again, and over roast duck and a bowl of Rhenish wine, mutual goodwill was sworn. The master was generous, the grim visage of the mistress relaxed, and the 'prentices were unusually active at their work. The eternal peace thus sealed sometimes lasted as long as ten years, but generally not so long. The old quarrel broke out afresh and went through its usual round of strikes, secession, recall, conference, roast duck, and reconciliation.

This was the way in which the labour question resolved itself in Germany in the fourteenth century. The history of the German trades offers many opportunities for tracing the growing power of the men, and shows how they succeeded in organising themselves and enforcing their demands far quicker and more successfully in South Germany than in the North, where the guilds of masters maintained longer their supremacy. In the North the guilds of employers were more united with one another in the several towns, and they were able to carry out, what was not attempted in the South, a lock-out of hands. On several occasions the masters in the towns of North Germany refused concession, shut up their workshops, and closed the city gates against the apprentices.

The reason why power left the hands of the masters, and fell into those of the operatives, was that the organisation of the former was relaxed; it lost its cohesion, and fell to tatters. The great political power enjoyed by the guilds had awakened the jealousy of the Government. The town council, composed of hereditary councillors, patricians, found that all control over the city was being wrested from their hands by the guilds. The "Räthe" consequently used every endeavour to break up these unions. In the sixteenth century the trades were rarely able to hold diets, so opposed were the rulers to allowing cities to be the scenes of these gatherings, and none occurred in the seventeenth century. Each town forbade the trades in it entering into association with those in another town, and cut off, as far as possible, all commercial dealings with one another. Everywhere the right of free correspondence was forbidden. No letter might be received or despatched which had not first been submitted to the Board of the town council. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the guilds to maintain cohesion. The masters in each town were thrown a prey to their operatives; the latter could act as a compact body, the former must fight as units. It is true that the unions of men were subjected to the same restrictions; they might only communicate with one another in other cities through the Government, but the unmarried apprentice, forced by law to travel from town to town to learn his trade, was able to evade the law; the married, settled master could not. The workmen's union sent no letters, but forwarded orders through travelling 'prentices. The law that obstructed the intercommunion of the employers, facilitated that of the employed. The masters might not by letter concert resistance: the men were forced to travel from town to town, and the operatives in every town were therefore put in daily interchange of communications with each other. The law gave them a flying post: as a necessary consequence, the union of operatives became doubly strong, its basis spread, it became national, whilst that of the masters shrivelled within the walls of each town.

The break-up of the alliance of trade-guilds accomplished the same result in another way. When the trades were not associated, they began to compete in one town against those in another. As long as the alliance lasted, a man dismissed from work in one town could not find employment in another. But directly the tie was dissolved, nothing stood in the way of the discharged operative in one place taking work elsewhere. The demand for men was great, and the man out of place was taken into service without a question being asked as to his antecedents. Indeed, so great was the spirit of rivalry between the towns, that no sooner was a strike on foot in one city than agents of the next were despatched to seduce the men to it, in the hopes of utterly ruining the trade of the first, and drawing the business from it within the walls of the other.

Consequently the workmen had the game put into their hands. The masters were absolutely at their mercy. It was in their power to ruin one town and make another. Wherever they went they were sure of being received with open arms, and of having their demands granted them, however unreasonable they might be. Their organisation was so complete that they could prevent any man from taking work with the masters who had fallen under their ban. And the masters were so helpless that they could not prevent unruly operatives whom they had dismissed from being snapped up by neighbouring employers. In the fifteenth century the trade of bottle-makers was one of the greatest and most prosperous in Nürnberg. A master of the guild sat in the town council. In that century a quarrel broke out between masters and men. The men in a body left the city, and carried their industry elsewhere. Of three hundred bottle factories only eight survived the strike. The master of the guild resigned his place in the council. The trade was extinguished. The master of the silversmiths took his place.

The Thirty Years' war, the War of Succession, and finally the European war of Napoleon, ruined German manufacture, the doubling the Cape of Good Hope ruined its trade with the East. Manufacture and commerce passed to England.

When Napoleon was consigned to St. Helena, and peace settled over the exhausted Continent, trade revived in Germany, but the conditions were altered. The guilds were decrepit, the unions of workmen extinct; manufactures, the organisation of trade, the foundations of commercial prosperity, had to be re-laid. Small employers were no more. Business to succeed must be carried on upon a large scale. Competition was now no longer between city and city, but between nation and nation. Intercourse was easy, combinations were feasible, but their success problematical. A new force had grown up, an international, stronger than the workmen's unions, confronting them when they struggled into life again—the police force. The gendarmes were no longer local watchmen, appointed by the city magistrates, and with no jurisdiction beyond the walls, no link with the watchmen in the neighbouring city. The gendarmes were now everywhere, and everywhere the same, though in different uniform: the man under suspicion at Berlin, on escaping to Vienna, found himself there also under surveillance. If he was dismissed Breslau, he was shown out of the gates of Cologne. The police looked with no sympathetic eye on associations of workmen: they smelt political gunpowder everywhere. The unions lost their acquired character, and fell back on their original programme. They became benevolent clubs. Cohesion was gone. They met with lemons in their hands about the grave of an associate, and subscribed Pfennige for the widow, but they no longer ventured to oppose the masters. They were too eager to get work to haggle about the terms.

The police did away with strikes, by forbidding compulsory association.

It is only since 1848 that workmen have recovered their right to unite to consider and enforce their requirements.

It will be instructive to compare the conditions under which these unions exist with those strictly analogous in former times.

The power of the workmen rested on association, which was *compulsory*, and was elaborately organised. No man could work at a trade who was not a member of the union. Consequently the union had absolute command over the entire body of operatives. The masters could not fill the vacant places from other fields. When the weavers in Augsburg struck, not a man who could toss a shuttle was available throughout Germany. The Fuggers might send to the shores of the Baltic, to Bohemia, to the confines of Holland, but could not rake thence a man to sit at their looms. Weaving was an art requiring an apprenticeship, and no one could become an apprentice who was not also a union man. Consequently the Fuggers must come to terms with their workmen: there was no help for it. It is not so now. Machinery does the intricate work, and no further apprenticeship is needed than one of three hours, to learn how to control the mechanism. If the operatives strike, others can take their places; what men did, children can effect as well. I was in the train to Rouen one day, and had as a fellow-traveller an English manufacturer. He told me that he had owned a mill near Wakefield, but had been so hampered with strikes when he had taken heavy contracts, that he had migrated with his machinery to Rouen, where he could execute his contracts at a cheaper rate to himself. "And," he said, "there are dozens of Yorkshire and Manchester manufacturers about me here in Normandy, who have migrated for the same reason. If labour becomes too dear here, we shall migrate elsewhere, to Italy or China." This is a consideration affecting the success of unions in the present day, which did not exist in the Middle Ages. Capital can flit where it likes to find cheap labour. Competition is now so keen, profits are so small, on account of competition, that migration is made compulsory. It must go, or die.

At Bludenz in the Vorarlberg are extensive woollen and yarn mills. A few years ago the looms and jennies were attended by Tyrolese. But France offered a good market for builders, Switzerland for waitresses. The Tyrolese men and girls found they could obtain more money abroad, so struck for higher wage in the mills. They were perfectly justified in doing so. The manufacturers refused, and imported Italian girls and men, and now scarce a native works in these factories. Capital will either follow cheap labour, or will import it. The demands of the artisans were in former times more readily complied with because the numbers of workmen were relatively small, and there was, therefore, no competition among themselves, for their number was fixed by law. No master might take more than one, or, at the utmost, two. No countryman could enter a trade without the consent of his lord, and this he was not likely to give with readiness, as thereby he lost a serf. Moreover, it was illegal for a master to employ on his trade a man who had not been regularly apprenticed to it; and female labour was also forbidden. Nowadays there are no such restrictions. Any shifty man may turn his hand to any sort of work, and women and children will compete with men, and their cheaper labour will drive the men out of the field.

Formerly, protection, the exclusion of foreign productions, and the enormous cost of carriage, and difficulties of transport, secured the market of native manufactures against competition from foreign productions. The master who yielded to the demands of the workmen, and added a penny to the daily wage, tacked the sum on to the selling price of his goods: the consumer, not he, suffered. Protection then was so close, that heavy duties were levied on goods introduced from neighbouring cities. There was no free trade between Ulm and Augsburg, Nürnberg and Ratisbon, Cologne and Mainz. It is not so now. If protection is not wholly done away with, there is free trade between every town in Germany, and duties are not too heavy to wholly exclude foreign manufactures. Steam has introduced extraordinary facilities of transport, and now not merely can one nation of Europe compete with another, but one continent with another: Indian rice is driving that of South Carolina out of the market; Belgian furnaces have blown out those of South Wales; Mühlhausen cotton-spinners are bringing Manchester mills to a standstill; Lyons weavers have ruined the silk-looms of the Calder; Persian carpets are killing Kidderminster; and Californian wheat beats down the price of home-grown corn. If I want books bound, I send them to Bruges; gloves, I write to Brussels; brass-work, I get it from Antwerp; some wine-glasses, they come from Bohemia; a stove, I order it at Aachen; a greenhouse, the frame comes to me from Drontheim; a dish of cherries, they are grown at Sinzig; fresh meat, my butcher is in New York.

In mediæval times a strike was unattended by risk and cost. If the men did not carry their point, they were sure of getting work elsewhere. They had no occasion to lay by for expenses when out of employ. If a rise in wages was refused them, they flung their bundle over their backs, and wafting a kiss to the master's daughter, went elsewhere.

> Was klinget und singet die Strass' herauf?
> Ihr Jungfrau'n, machet die Fenster auf!
> Es ziehet der Bursch in die Weite,
> Sie geben ihm das Geleite.

As the modern housemaid likes to change her place continually to see more of the world, and the German student to shift his university every year, so the workman in the Middle Ages liked to ramble from town to town, and when he had carried on his flirtations in one place to a dangerous length, he escaped entanglements by going to another, and the easiest way to get off was to demand more wage, and go if it were refused. Wherever he went he was well received and helped on by his fellows. Their purses were ever open to the vagabond artisan, for with what measure they meted this year, they expected to have it measured to them the following year.

Here again the modern workman is at a disadvantage. The unmarried man has but himself to care for if out of work, but the artisan who has wife and children dependent on him must consider his family.

The union to which he belongs will allow him something during the period of strike, but not enough to keep him in comfort, and the object of strike is not now attainable as it was formerly. Every workman does not belong to the union; capital is not bound to one spot; competition is wide as the world. The old monopolies which favoured the artisan at the cost of the consumer are dead as Herod. Trades'-unions of operatives, as they have been for some time conducted, are an organisation unsuitable for modern times—a relic of mediævalism, practicable only where there is protection. An international society can alone meet capitalists and try conclusions with them, but then, is it possible for such a society to embrace the proletariates of the whole world? If it is organised throughout Europe and America, China and Japan will become the resort of manufacturers, the emporiums of trade. In the mean time much mischief may be done by using old engines against modern earthworks; they are likely to explode and injure those who employ them.

Trade is so delicate and subtle that it may be banished by a strike. A slight rise in price made to meet the demands of the artisans may ruin the home manufacture. Foreign goods can be sold cheaper, and English goods will be no longer asked for. Thereupon the whole home produce collapses.

And yet trades'-unions are an excellent institution, if not ignorantly or designingly misdirected. Nothing is better than that men should live a corporate life, that they should be made to feel that they are members of a body, that they should have an organised society through which to make their wants and ideas known, and, if necessary, enforce them. But then the masters will league also, and both will face one another as natural foes, maintaining peace only as truce. In the Middle Ages there was a more excellent way among the so-called "great industries." In them there were no separate guilds of masters and unions of workmen, but one association embracing both, with a committee in which sat the masters and the delegates of the men. The affairs of the trade were discussed and regulated by the whole corporation, differences composed by common action. In these trades, disputes between masters and men rarely broke out into overt acts of hostility. In an organisation of this sort harmony is maintained, for the interests of the trade are understood by both parties: whereas in separate organisations, each sees only one side of every question.

On the land in Germany, labour is not likely to combine, for the land belongs to small holders, and few farmers can afford to maintain workmen. A farm tilled by paid labour ruins the farmer. It is usual for the employer to feed as well as pay his men. They expect something to eat and drink every two hours.

The average price of labour in Germany on the land is now, in marks:

	Winter.	Summer.	Average.
In Prussia	1·30	0·83	1·07
Pomerania	1·82	1·10	1·46
Posen	1·39	8·20	1·10
Brandenburg	1·56	1·06	1·31
Silesia	0·94	0·71	·82
Saxony	1·46	1·12	1·29
Hanover	1·72	1·34	1·53
Schleswig-Holstein	2·00	1·32	1·66
Westphalia	1·72	1·38	1·55
Rheinland	1·78	1·38	1·58
Kingdom of Saxony	1·61	1·21	1·41
Bavaria	1·55	1·16	1·35
Würtemberg	1·86	1·38	1·62
Baden	1·84	1·47	1·65
Hesse-Darmstadt	1·49	1·22	1·35
Elsass-Lothringen	2·07	1·64	1·85

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Be not over-exquisite
To cast the fashion of uncertain evils
MILTON: *Comus.*

THE attempts of Hödel and Nobiling have of late attracted extraordinary attention to German Social Democracy. The imagination of the public and the fears of Prince Bismarck have given to the movement an importance which it scarcely possesses. By a repetition of the mistake of the May laws, the German Chancellor hopes to suppress a power which he dislikes or dreads, but will instead give it consistency, and exasperate it to deeds of violence. Heine said:—

Franzosen und Russen gehört das Land,
Das Meer gehört den Britten:
Wir aber führen im Luftreich des Traums
Die Herrschaft unbestritten.

And this is true of German Social Democracy; it is dreamland, fantastic, melting away at the touch of practical life. Better let the dreamer toss in sleep and clutch at air than by putting him in a strait jacket and confining him in a black hole, convert him into a lunatic.

If we want to know the origin of Socialism historically, we must turn to the "Corpus Juris Canonici." It was the Catholic Church which first preached Communism. When she became wealthy she doubted about putting her doctrine into practice, but she taught it theoretically, and her monasteries were true com munistic societies. Canon Law, the flower of mediæval science, to the perfecting of which Theology, Jurisprudence, and Philosophy laboured together during many centuries, lays down the principles of Communism as plainly as Marx and Lassalle. According to the Canonists, the ideal and original condition of things was and is community of goods. Everything—air, light, water, the earth—is common to all. God sent all his creatures into the world with equal rights to life, to all that conduces to life, to the enjoyment of life.[1] As every man has a right to breathe, so every man has a right to eat. As the air is without an owner, but common property, so the earth and its fruits.[2] St. Ambrose rejects the idea that God is the author of difference in men's lots, that He gives wealth to one and poverty to another. Inequality is interference with the law of God. Therefore, he says, let no man dare to call superfluities his own. Whatever is more than satisfies his needs is appropriated by him from the common good.[3] *Mine* and *Thine* are human distinctions, creations of man's unrighteousness. The Fall caused the idea of property to spring into being. When the blight fell on the earth through man's disobedience, and people multiplied on its face, then the soil did not bring forth sufficient to satisfy all. Men were forced to labour at it to increase its productive power, and with labour came in rights of property. What man won by his sweat was his in a special manner. Thus came in acquired rights. Though in an evil world property must exist, yet in cases of necessity the powers that be are justified in re-establishing community of property. "Dulcissima rerum possessio communis est."[4]

It will be seen that the Communism of the Canonists differed from that of modern Socialism only by its religious basis. Theoretically, with the Canonists, poverty was the best state, that most pleasing to God. Wealth, if not sinful, is ensnaring to the soul. Erdmann rightly says that the extensive estates acquired by the religious orders in the Middle Ages were not a contradiction in practice to this doctrine, but rather an attempt to give it practical operation. In fact, the profuse charity of the Church was a carrying out of this system. What the monastic community could not consume was freely distributed among the poor. What was over and above that which every man needed was the "debitum legale" of Aquinas. The rich were constrained to give to the poor, not by police regulations, but by appeals to their consciences. It was taught that it was quite as sinful to deny one's superfluity to a brother in need as to rob another of his goods.[1] The motive of all social activity was desire to obtain sufficient to support life, desire for the *usufruct.* The moment activity was directed beyond this, to acquisition of superfluity, then it became avarice, and was sinful. The desire to have more than would maintain life was *cupiditas,* sinful, and to be rooted out, not restrained.[2] All activity beyond what was needful for acquiring the necessaries of life is an evil. "Negotium negat otium, quod malum est, neque quærit veram quietem, quæ est Deus."[3] This was one purpose of the multiplication of festivals on which unnecessary work was forbidden,—to destroy cupidity, to prevent men from devoting all their time to the acquisition of wealth. It may be said that many compulsory holidays destroy the energy in a people. They certainly make them more light-hearted. There can be no question that the sweeping away of holidays in France has destroyed the gaiety of the Gallic peasant. Avarice is the motive of his whole life, his ruling, all-pervading passion. The Bavarian or Tyrolese peasant is a far more joyous being.

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[1] *Decret. Gratian.* ii. c. 12. *Qu.* i. c. 2.

[2] See Erdmann: "Ueber die National-Oekonomischen Grundsätze der Kanonistischen Lehre," in Hildebrand, *Jahrbücher für Nat.-Oekon. u. Stat.* Band i.

[3] *Decret. Gratian.* i. D. 47, c. 8.

[4] *Gloss to Gratian.* i. D. 1, c. 7; D. 47, c. 8; ii. c. 12. *Qu.* i. c. 2.

Canon Law was eminently hostile to trade. No man might sell goods for more than what they cost him. All profit in merchandise was robbery;[4] whereas agriculture was praiseworthy; and indeed all manual labour was lawful—"Deo non displicet;" trade was censurable—"Deo placere non potest." Time was God's gift to every man, and might not be sold. Therefore, whatever a man laboured on, he laboured on for himself. If on other man's land, then he and the landowner had equal rights to the fruits. If a man borrowed money of another, it was enough if he repaid the capital: for interest was robbery.

German Right, like Canon Law, reposed on a theory of property, not without its influence on modern Socialism. German right which was driven out by Roman right in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, viewed property and man's relation to the land and to his fellows from altogether another standing-point from Roman right.[1] According to the latter, every right starts from the individual, and his boundless freedom,[2] which is only made endurable in the commonwealth by mutual curtailment of spheres in which liberty may be exercised under the direction of the State. By German law, on the other hand, Right in general was a postulate of the moral law, and like it of Divine origin—a view of right which indeed stands in the preface of the "Sachsen-Spiegel," but which stretches back into præ-Christian times. Every several right has as its correlative an obligation. Every office entails duties. Roman law regarded man as an individual, and started from this conception. German law looked first on the social body, and then considered man as a member of it. *Ab initio*, in Roman right, man was dutiless towards his fellows; but in German right, before the introduction of Christianity, the basis of association laid down in every community and guild was "unus subveniat alteri tanquam fratri suo in utili et honesto."[3] German right was positive, Roman negative; the former trusted to the moral sense as its executioner, the latter to the State. The former reposed on principle, the latter on compulsion. In German right the expression "Ehre und Treue" had not merely a moral signification, it belonged to quite a different order of ideas from the Roman "existimatio et bona fides;" it was an essential characteristic of a citizen, without which there was no participation in the rights and privileges and duties of citizenship. "Gut ohne Ehre ist kein Gut, und Leib ohne Ehre hält man für todt. Alle Ehre aber kommt von der Treue."[4] Each step in the social scale had its special "Ehre und Treue," compacting the whole society together into an indissoluble body—an idea the reverse of the Roman abstract equality. We see a relic of this doctrine in the law that exempts the man who has fallen under the penal laws from military service. He has lost his "Ehre und Treue," and is therefore unworthy to fight for Fatherland. The principle that the individual is subordinate to the community still lies at the root of much local custom and law. It was because the parish was bound to maintain its poor, that in Bavaria it refused to allow its young men and young women to marry unless they were in circumstances which made it most unlikely that their children would come to the parish for support.

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[1] *Gratian.* i. D. 47, c. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Gratian.* i. D. 88, c. 12
[4] *Gratian,* ii. c. 14. *Qu.* 5, c. 9.

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[1] See Schmidt (C. A.): *Der principelle Unterschied zwischen dem Römischen u. Germanischen Rechte*, Rost. 1853; and Roscher: *Geschichte d. Nationalökonomik in Deutschland.* München, 1874.

[2] *Leg.* 4, *Dig.* i. 5.

[3] Wilda: *Strafrecht der Germanen*, i. 140.

[4] *Gloss to Sachsen-Spiegel*, iii. 78.

According to Roman ideas, the *Familia* was the property of the master: the Family included children and slaves; and the father might dispose of the children as he did of the slaves. German "Familienrecht" was quite different. Every child had its rights in the house, and the "Pflichttheil," the inalienable portion of the goods of the father which falls to it, is in modern German law a recognition of this principle. Only if the child should lose its "Ehre und Treue," has it lost its right in the inheritance of its parents. In Roman law property is regarded in an abstract light, in German it is the medium of social and moral relations. By Roman law property entailed no obligations. It was otherwise by German law: there was no property without obligations. The whole feudal system was based on this principle. God was the giver of all good things, mediately, through the Emperor. Everything was a loan, and a loan entailing responsibilities from the receiver to the giver. All power was viewed as issuing from above, and flowing down by a series of falls to the lowest, and attached ever to the holding of land. Moveables alone were personal property: over them alone had a man free disposal, for they alone were his own acquisition. But land entailed duties towards those from whom the feof was received, and authority towards those who lived upon it. The "benevolentia" of the bestower entailed "fidelitas" on the part of the receiver. Every act which made a man dishonourable, which affected his "Ehre und Treue," made him incapable of holding a feof. But till a man's honour was stained, and his word broken, a feof was unreclaimable.

By Roman law a man had absolute disposal of his property after death. It was not so by German law. He had no power over anything except his moveables. "Deus hæredem facere potest non homo."[1] Wife and children claimed their portion as their rights.

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[1] *Glanvilla*, vii. 1.

KING WILLIAM II.

Germany.

The idea of corporate life which pervades German law took practical forms in the Middle Ages, just as in monachism the Socialist theories of Canon Law assumed a living illustration. In the chapter on peasant properties I have shown the working of this principle in the bauer community: it took shape also in the noble and the citizen classes.

The principle of confederate or common life, the mutual dependence of one on another, manifested as strong an influence on the mediæval nobles as on the proletariates of the present day. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the castle isolated the nobleman, cut him off from his fellows, and fostered independence. The "Burg" expressed the social insulation of the nobility as a class, not of the separate nobleman. The majority of gentry did not occupy their own castles, but lived in those of the princes, as burggraves or stewards. Often a whole community of nobles united to build a castle, or to buy one; or several families together inherited one castle. They lived together in the same fortress, sharing the duties and dividing the profits, arranging together which should be head of the general establishment, electing and voting in little parliaments, and mutually arranging the laws of succession to the principal rooms in the common mansion. Perhaps the most curious instance was Friedberg in the Wetterau, where the large castle was the common inheritance and property of several noble families, exercising together the office of burggrave over the town that lay outside its walls. These "Ganerbschaften," as they were called, were actual communistic aristocratic societies of the Middle Ages, such as were quite unknown out of Germany. More remarkable were the guilds (*Zünfte*) among the citizens. In the former chapter I have given some idea of these. But I must add here some further particulars to show their Socialistic character.

The guilds were as important for the towns as the feudal system was for the country. Both these institutions confounded religion and morals with social economy, and in many of their features exhibit themselves as the "forebears" of modern Social Democracy. The guild system was as far removed from our ideas of free trade as was the feudal system from modern notions of the freedom of land-tenure. The right of labour was elaborated in the towns into a working system. The town as a whole took the trade of the town on itself as a sort of feudal tenure. The great feofs of the trades were reserved to the Rath; they gave them out as sub-feofs to the free citizens. The Rath, or town council, so to speak, enfeoffed the masters with tailoring, weaving, baking, shoemaking, etc.: no man had a right to exercise a trade who had not been invested with it by the town council. Trade was an office: God was the source of all authority in the State, and of all ability in trade. From Him issued the feudal tenures of gaugrave, burggrave, landgrave on the one hand, and the trade tenures of tailoring, weaving, and shoemaking on the other. He commissioned the nobles through the Emperor to administer law for the good of the commonwealth, and in like manner He commissioned tailors, tinkers, and apothecaries, through the town council for the same end—the good of the commonwealth.

The guilds of the trades either bought the raw material and distributed it among the masters; or it was ruled that no master might buy raw material without notification to the guild. If the guild thought a private master had bought too much, it took from him what it held to be superfluous, and distributed it among the others. No master was allowed to have more than one, or at the outside two workmen. Nor might one master have more than a single shop. Nothing like competition was allowed among the masters. The guild which gave out the raw stuff fixed the price at which it was to be sold, thus determining the profits of every master. He could not become richer by his trade than were the other masters.

All this was upset by the introduction of Roman law, which brought in the novel ideas of capital and the mobilisation of real property, of free trade, and the right of every man to the free disposal of his time and his energies.

In a century the whole system of trade in Germany has been revolutionised, just as land tenure has been revolutionised, but in an opposite direction. Land has been parcelled out among small holders. One large farm has given place to five little holdings. But in trade five small masters have been swallowed up by one large manufacturer.

In a city where, under the old doctrines, there throve five hundred master tradesmen—say weavers—with six hundred workmen, each workman with an almost certain prospect before him of becoming a master himself in a few years, there are now five manufacturers with twelve hundred operatives, not one of whom can hope to push his way into independence. We are assisting at a similar process in another branch of industry. Co-operative stores, or general stores, such as those of Messrs. Whiteley, Shoolbred, Tarn, etc., are taking the place of a number of small special traders. That means, where fifteen or twenty small independent tradesmen had their shops, there is now but one concern, and there are fourteen or nineteen independent heads of firms abolished, and those who would have been free men under the former state of affairs are now reduced to subserviency. Imagine this carried out on a large scale, as it no doubt will be, in time, and there will be no more living in independence for small grocers, linendrapers, furniture-dealers, druggists etc.; a few capitalists will have effaced them from the streets of London. The commercial world is enslaving the many traders just as the aristocratic world did the tillers of the soil in the early Middle Ages. When this takes place, the whole middle class, reduced to servitude under "immediate" princely Whiteleys and Tarns and Shoolbreds, will chafe against their bondage, and perhaps rise in social-economic war against the omnipotence of capital in trade, just as now, and very naturally, the workmen, who a few years ago might have been masters, are tossing and gnawing at the chain wherewith the great manufacturers hold them down The masters were the aristocracy of labour. And just as the princes in Germany stamped or bought the gentry out, so that they might have none between them and the serfs, so are wholesale makers squeezing the small dealers out, or forcing them to become salaried clerks and overlookers under them.

The guilds are no more. Free manufacture was introduced in France in 1786, and in Germany every restraint upon it disappeared in 1868.

That with the altered position of the artisans, with all hope of independence cut off from them, with the remembrance of their past rights lingering about their memories, they should sit down contentedly in the fetters laid on them by an inexorable present, is not to be expected. They are reduced to servitude and poverty, and a few become enormously wealthy. Under the Mediæval system, the profits on weaving in a certain city were divided among five hundred masters. Now the profits go into the pockets of five. Four hundred and ninety-five get none.

The following is a classification of fortunes in Berlin, 1875–76:—

1	person, with	an annual income of	£90,000	
1	„	„	72,000	
1	„	„	45,000	
1	„	„	36,000	
2	„	„	30,000	
2	„	„	27,000	
1	„	„	24,000	
3	„	„	21,000	
7	„	„	18,000	
3	„	„	15,000	£
10	„	„	12,000 to	15,000
9	„	„	10,200 to	12,000
17	„	„	8,400 to	10,200
13	„	„	7,200 to	8,400

There are consequently seventy-one persons with an income over 7,000*l.* a year. These pay income-tax to the amount of 31,891*l.*, *i.e.* more than ten per cent. of the entire income-tax, 313,253*l.* There are 244 persons with an income of from 3,000*l.* to 7,200*l.*, and 471 persons with an income of 1,440*l.* to 3,000*l.*[1]

The contrast between wealth and poverty is more noticed in Germany than in England, because the Germans have not been for two centuries accustomed to see vast wealth and squalor side by side, as in England. Mediævalism kept such contrasts down, and it is only since the break-up of the old system that such contrasts have become possible; and this takes place precisely at a time when the reverse is going on in landed property. Land is breaking up, and being more and more distributed and equalised, whilst capital in trade is being withdrawn from the many and amassed in the hands of the few. The contrast of the two systems naturally provokes discontent among the operatives in trade, and they desire to apply to capital in gold the same law that has been applied to capital in clay, to mobilise money as land has been mobilised. Is this wonderful? Is it not certain that under the circumstances there must be discontent in the working class? Is this discontent—the natural produce of a transition state—to be abolished by making the utterance of it a crime?

Discontent was brooding when Lassalle gave it shape and utterance. In 1851 he showed that $95\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. of the population had incomes under 25*l.* a year, on which, on an average, five persons had to be supported. According to Lengerke 10,000,000 of the population of Prussia have annually under 16*l.* per annum on which to maintain a family. Let us take the more recent calculations of a Conservative, R. Meyer. He classifies the fortunes in Prussia thus, in 1874:—

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[1] *Annalen d. Deut. Reichs*, 1875, p. 491.

6,034,263	persons, or	58·5	per cent.,	are extremely poor.	
8,520,691	„	34·1	„	have incomes from	£20 to £50
478,410	„	4·6	„	„	50 „ 100
178,930	„	1·7	„	„	100 „ 200
89,293	„	0·86	„	„	200 „ 750
9,634	„	0·09	„	„	over 750.

About 92·6 of the population, according to the same authority, consist of persons who do not earn three shillings a day.

In 1875 there were 6,591,559 persons exempt from taxation; that is 26·86 per cent. of the entire population, exempt because their annual incomes did not amount to 20*l.* This shows a condition of distribution of property anything but satisfactory. Dr. Engel, in a paper on the classification of incomes in Prussia between the years 1852 and 1875 on the basis of the revenue statistics, arrives at these depressing conclusions:—

1. The larger the capitals, the quicker their growth. Incomes of 150*l.* grow at double the rate of incomes under that figure.

2. The numbers with moderate fortunes do not show a tendency to increase. On the contrary, the wealthy become more wealthy, and the number of the poor increases.

3. The years between 1870–73—years of false commercial activity—proved ruinous to small incomes, but increased the large incomes.

In the year 1848, the social question first attracted interest in Germany. There the political agitation was, in reality, quite as truly social as political, however this fact may have been overlooked by the Liberal leaders of the time. It was not long before they became alarmed at the "Red Spectre," whose cap appeared above the crowd clamouring for change, and they hastened to give their support to the Government to bring about a reaction, and thereby, as was soon apparent, to forfeit their credit with the multitude.

Many German men of letters, L. Stein, Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle, Engel, Marlo, and others, then began to study the social question with earnestness, and they gave to Socialism, by their labours, a firm scientific, or, at all events, theoretical position.

The social question received its solution in one way, the liberal, by Schulze-Delitzsch; in a reactionary way by Lassalle and Marx.

Granted that the present condition is an unhappy one, it is obvious that there are only two ways in which it may be remedied —either we must allow trade and commerce its fullest possible development, make it cosmopolitan, or we must restrict trade and bolster up national prosperity at the expense of other countries. Free trade is not yet universal, and till it has become universal, the present state of labour is unsettled. The Liberal programme is the abolition of all impediments to free trade, to competition, to the mobilisation of labour. The general welfare of the world must be considered above that of a class. The poor starved under the old corn laws that the farmers might grow rich. The importation of foreign corn was made free of duty: the poor ate and were satisfied, and the farmers found to their great surprise that they were not ruined. What is true of the corn laws is true of all protection. It rests on a false principle. It is artificial not natural, mediæval not modern. Every railway and steamboat punctures the skin of protection, and makes patching and plastering every day more difficult and hopeless. In former times one town stood in rivalry with another town; now they interchange their products, and both thrive on the interchange. Nations were and are parted by protective tariffs. The time must come when these will fall, and then the present social and financial anarchy will right itself. A worthy old relative of mine was wont to bless God in his evening prayers that he had been born a Devonshire man, and not in the wastes of Wiltshire and Berkshire, or even in that ash-pit London. But then he had never travelled out of the West country. National prejudice will go in time with county particularism: men will not bless God that they are Englishmen rather than Germans or Swiss, but that they are Europeans; and, lastly, Continental isolation will dissolve into universal humanity. That is what increased facilities of locomotion and communication are daily bringing nearer. Liberal legislation is a more or less conscious recognition of the tendency of the time: it makes the welfare of humanity its aim, rather than the tinkering up of nationality.

In the agitation about the Eastern question, this truth comes out prominently enough. The English Liberal party—at all events that portion which accepts Mr. Gladstone as its head, looked to the general interests of humanity as of paramount importance, as enlisted against Turkish misrule. Away with misrule, and a vast region, now contributing nothing or next to nothing to the sum of the requirements of the multitudes on the face of the earth, will be full of activity, and yield corn, and wine, and metals in abundance. Every improvement in the condition of one body of human beings conduces to the welfare of the entire mass of humanity.

Thrace, Bulgaria, Asia Minor are the chilblains in the body politic; there is constant itch, because circulation is arrested. Restore, through commercial veins and arteries, the current of trade, and the whole of humanity will flourish the more abundantly for it.

The Liberal doctrine is the true outcome of Roman law. It reposes on individual freedom, and free disposal of capital. It starts from the unit, which it endows with liberty and mobility. What the Reformation was in the sphere of religion, that Liberalism is in the sphere of political economy.

Herr Schulze-Delitzsch is the representative of German Liberalism—the most remarkable exponent of the principles of the Progress party (*Fortschrittpartei*). He was born at Delitzsch, in Saxony, in 1808, and appointed District Judge at Wreschen in 1850; but resigned the office two years after, that he might devote himself wholly to the solution of the social question. His solution is very simple.

1. Free trade, free manufacture, and free mobilisation of labour.
2. The elevation of the masses by education.
3. The formation of unions of artisans.

Freedom of manufacture is granted already. Any man, without belonging to a guild, may start in any trade he likes.

Free circulation of labour is interfered with by military conscription. A German workman cannot follow trade in its migrations, because he is tied to his Fatherland by military duties. This must tell seriously on his well-being. As over 700,000 men are withdrawn annually from trade for army and navy, there is less competition of labour, and consequently a rise in the wage. Coal is dear in Germany, and competition with England can only be maintained when labour is cheap. Military service would kill German manufacture, but that a preventive duty is put on foreign manufactured goods. Thus an artificial life is given to German manufacture. One evil breeds another. Because labour is held down to the soil, and prevented from seeking a market, free trade becomes impossible.

The other points in the Schulze-Delitzsch programme need not detain us. Government has taken the education of the people into its own hands. The unions proposed, and partly carried out by Schulze-Delitzch, are co-operative associations, savings' banks, and partnership-companies of artisans carrying on manufacture. The co operative stores have not proved very successful. That at Mannheim has failed for 35,000 Mks.; that at Freiburg for 7,000 Mks. Those at Metz and Mainz have also been liquidated.

The productive associations have never come to anything for want of capital on which to start.

It is evident that these schemes are mitigations only of the prevailing distress, but that they do not, and are not intended to, touch the root of the disorder. This can only be effected by the complete carrying out of the first article of the programme—the throwing open of the ports to foreign competition, and the letting of labour loose to follow trade to its centres, and move with it as it migrates.

Lassalle's system is the reverse of this at every point. As Schulze-Delitzsch represents the theory of Roman right, Lassalle is the modern exponent and advocate of the theory of German mediæval right. Schulze is progressive, Lassalle retrograde. The two stand to one another as the poles. Prince Bismarck never made a more stupid, if not wilful blunder, than when he endeavoured to make the Liberal party responsible for the crimes and follies attributed to Social Democracy. Social Democracy has far more in common with Conservatism than with Progress. The Romantic School attempted to revive the aristocracy by throwing a halo over the chivalry of the Middle Ages. The Socialists are the Romantic School of the working class, and Lassalle is their De la Motte Fouqué. Both attempted impossibilities. Chivalry is not to be galvanised into life again. Trade protection is dead irretrievably. We must let the modern torrent flow It is be cause we try to arrest it with piles that we produce disastrous floods. No doubt we are living in the midst of a great social problem, because new agencies are at work disintegrating society and building it up in new masses. We cannot solve these problems with foregone conclusions, but must let them work themselves out.

Ferdinand Lassalle was a Jew, born at Breslau in 1825. His father wished him to be a merchant, but he declined to devote himself to commerce, having a strong taste for philosophy and law. He was in Berlin during the Revolution in 1848, and took considerable part in it. In Berlin he made the acquaintance of the Countess Hatzfeldt, a lady of forty, but still very beautiful. She was engaged in an action for separation from her husband. Lassalle challenged the Count, but the latter turned "the stupid Jewling" out of his house. He then went with the Countess to Düsseldorf, and lived with her in the most intimate relations till his death. For eight years he fought her battles from court to court, figuring before the world as the champion of wronged innocence, the disinterested protector of the oppressed, whilst all the while he was feathering his own nest. He would not undertake the championship till he had wrung a contract for a handsome annuity from the Countess. He obtained for the lady a princely provision, and sponged upon her to the end of his days. Whilst setting himself up as the opponent of wealth, the advocate of equalisation of fortunes, he lived himself in epicurean luxury, was a fop, a gourmand, and licentious.[1] But he was brilliant, clever, and of extraordinary fertility of resource. His popularity in society was wonderful. "I can't help liking you," Heine had said to him in Paris; and the circle of friends who gathered round Varnhagen von Ense in Berlin had all the same feeling towards him. But whilst he was charming society, and working hard at law, he suddenly amazed the scholastic world with a critical treatise on Heraclitus.[2] There seemed no limit to his powers and interests. The unhappy Sophie von Hatzfeldt stood as his bad angel at his side, directing his energies into perverse currents. She had the rare self-control of Livia, the wife of Augustus. She was not, or did not show herself, jealous of the infidelities of her lover and advocate. The fascinating and intelligent face of Lassalle made him a favourite with women: his love adventures form a *chronique scandaleuse.* On the occasion of one of these he was attacked by a rival with fury in the Thiergarten at Berlin, and defended himself with such valour, that the historian Förster made him a present of Robespierre's walking-stick, which he ever after bore.

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[1] See *Eine Liebes-Episode aus dem Leben Ferdinand Lassalle's.* Leipzig. The Social Democratic press have endeavoured to dispute the authenticity of the letters therein contained. But of their genuineness there can really be no question.

[2] "A masterly treatise on an author he had not read," is the judgment I have heard passed on it.

The end of Lassalle was tragic. When he was reading one day at the Kaltbad, half-way up the Rigi, where he and the Countess Hatzfeldt were staying together, a young lady with a party of friends begged to be escorted to the summit. She turned out to be an old acquaintance, and Lassalle was delighted to assent. The young lady and Lassalle were soon desperately in love with one another. Lassalle was a Jew, the lady a Catholic, and so religious difficulties stood in the way of their marriage. Lassalle offered to give up everything, urged her to take refuge with the Bishop of Mainz, and wrote to him offering to become a Catholic, if he would marry him to the lady. Presently, however, he discovered that her father was Protestant. Immediately he pitched the Bishop and Catholicism overboard, and was ready to embrace Protestantism, if that were required. But in the meantime the young lady had grown cold. She was already engaged to the Wallachian Bojar, Raconitza, and she probably considered her prospects as a lady of rank in Austria promised better than as the wife of a Jew agitator, whose life was disreputable, however brilliant his genius. Lassalle, furious at his rejection, challenged the more fortunate lover, and was shot in a duel near Geneva, August 31, 1864.[1]

That Lassalle was a man of marvellous talents is unquestionable. But that he was sincere in his convictions may well be questioned. He loved glitter, applause, display, and cared little how he won it. In all this he stands in marked contrast to his less brilliant rival in the same field, Karl Marx, a man who was ready to suffer and make sacrifices for his creed.

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[1] See Bernhard Becker: *Enthüllung über das tragische Lebensende Ferd. Lassalle's* Schleiz, 1868.

The system of social economy of Lassalle was better than the man. It was consistent. It was based on truths and principles. He laid down lucidly the fundamental axioms of Socialism, and exhibited its radical antagonism to Liberalism. He repudiated altogether Liberal atomism, the doctrine that all social and political economy must start from the individual enjoying the plenitude of his liberty as the perfection of his existence. "Liberalism," he said, "regards men in modern society as insulated Robinson Crusoes."

In opposition to the duty of self-help as preached by Schulze, and the throwing of every man back on his own resources, Lassalle proclaimed the social body as the unit, solidarity as the principle of social well-being. "All historic development from the beginning has proceeded from the community, and without that no culture would have existed." "The entire old world, and the Middle Ages up to the French Revolution of 1789, sought human solidarity or community in union or in subjection. The French Revolution of 1789 and the period influenced by it, indignant at this bondage, sought freedom in the dissolution of all solidarity and community. What was won was not Freedom, but Wilfulness. The present age—at least the fourth estate—seeks freedom in solidarity. This in a few lines is the social history of the past and present.

"From a legal point of view, individual responsibility is an unconditional principle. And so it must be, for in the matter of right and wrong each man is responsible for his own acts. But in the economic sphere this is not so. On the contrary, every man is responsible for what he has *not* done. If, for instance, this year the currant harvest in Corinth and Smyrna, or the wheat harvest in the Mississippi valley, on the Lower Danube, or in the Crimea, be very abundant, then the currant-dealers and contractors in Berlin and Cologne, who had filled their stores at the prices last year, lose half their fortunes. If, on the other hand, our German harvest is bad, then this year the labourers lose half their wage, which indeed remains the same nominally, but has less buying power, as the prices of necessaries have risen. If, on the contrary, our harvest be good, then it happens to us, as was naïvely and sadly expressed by the King of France, in his address to the Chamber of Deputies on November 30, 1821, 'the laws are in full force, but no law can alter the inconveniences which arise from excessive harvests'—that is, the fall of prices, and therewith distress among farmers in years of abundance. If the cotton crop fails in the Southern States, then the mill-hands in the English, French, and German cotton-factories are thrown out of work and bread. But if, in place of a bad cotton harvest in America, there be an industrial, or money crisis, then all who have stores of cotton sell at what they can realise, the market is glutted, and the silk and velvet manufactories in Crefeld, Elberfeld, and Lyons are brought to a standstill, as there come in no orders. Newly opened mines rich in silver cause a depreciation in the currency, and manufacturers cannot execute their contracts, save at a loss. All creditors are made poorer and all debtors richer. On the other hand, a demand for silver in China and Japan reverses these conditions. The telegraphic notice that the rape-crop in Holland promises to be better than the year before brings the oil-millers in Prussia to the brink of ruin. They gain nothing by their industrial activity, and are thankful if they can sell the oil they have made for the bare price of the uncrushed rape-seed. Every new mechanical invention which reduces the cost of manufacture causes the depreciation of goods already made, and often deprives whole lots of dealers and contractors of the means of existence.[1] A new railway alters at once the values of houses and gardens and fields near the station, and relatively depreciates those furthest away from the line. These illustrations, which might be multiplied indefinitely, show how true it is, that in the sphere of social economy the reverse principle to that in jurisprudence holds—every man is responsible, not for what he *has* done, but for what he *has not* done. And the reason is simple. In the sphere of right every act is the product of the individual will. Responsibility depends on freedom. Where freedom ends, there ends responsibility also.

"Human community and solidarity may be misunderstood and disavowed, but it cannot be done away with. If therefore there be social edifices which do not take cognisance of this, so much the worse for them. It exists, but through want of recognition is converted, by a wild avenging natural force, into chance, which plays at ball with the destinies and liberties of individuals. One is tossed aloft in this game by the misunderstood and uncontrolled forces at work below, and falls into the lap of wealth; and hundreds are plunged in the slough of poverty, and the wheel of social progress goes over them, crushing them and all their industry, and the fruits of their toil, into powder. Chance plays ball, and men are the balls with which it plays.

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[1] As, for instance, the invention of adhesive envelopes, which at once ruined the manufacturers of sealing-wax.

"Now when chance rules, the freedom of the individual is no more. Chance is the repeal of self-responsibility and self-determination. The object we seek is the limitation of the caprices of chance, by restoring a general equilibrium of responsibility, by subjecting every shoulder to that weight which misses some and crushes others. We seek to enthrone a rational direction of the natural forces in the social world in the place of wild caprice, to recognise common obligation and universal solidarity, and therewith to bring back self-responsibility, self-determination, and individual freedom. What is now an undisciplined natural force will be controlled and expropriated by community of interests. The social union is the old Orphic chain, of which the Orphics said that it bound all existences together with infrangible links.

"Only those are admitted to the great game of luck that is going on in the mercantile world, who can sell products on their own account, who have command of capital, and are able to produce or accumulate these products in great quantities, so that they may seize on favourable opportunities the moment they offer. The whole artisan class is excluded from the game, from every chance of getting the pool, for the artisan can never sell the products of his toil on his own account; so also is the tradesman more or less shut out, for wholesale manufacture is cutting away and diverting from him all the sources of his living, and driving him down into the position of a hireling He has not the capital to invest the moment a fortunate conjuncture of affairs offers, but while he is making ready, gathering together his little outstanding debts, another steppeth down before him, and obtains all the advantages of the plunge. Unable to avail himself of propitious circumstances, disadvantageous circumstances crush him inexorably. The class of artisans and small tradesmen form a social division in our community, over which might be inscribed the legend that stood upon Dante's 'Hell:' 'Who enters here, leaves hope behind.' As a rule, the artisan class scarcely and only transitorily feels the passing effect of a wave of commercial prosperity; whereas depression in trade makes itself felt in it instantaneously. Wage is diminished, the artisan begins to consume his savings, and he has perhaps to pay with entire deprivation of work and loss of wage for some reckless speculation or fatal calculation of his master, in which he was not consulted, and in the profits of which, had it succeeded, he would not have shared."

Such is Lassalle's statement of the social question. Let us now see what are the remedies that he proposes.

"Modern association of labour is not self-reliant activity, but a concentration of a great many activities on one product. Wholesale *production* is indeed common and co-operative, but *distribution* of the profits is not common, but individual.

"The subdivision of labour is the fountain of wealth. It is an economic law, which may be almost classed as a natural law, like gravitation, the expansion of steam, etc., to be called perhaps a social-natural law, that the more labour is subdivided the more profitable the labour becomes, and the cheaper becomes the production. But it is a law that has been taken advantage of by a few individuals to their individual profit, who have wound the dazed and withering populace round and round, and in and out, with invisible threads, into an inextricable tangle, where they are held fast, whilst these few suck the blood of profit to themselves, and cast to their tools only refuse—enough to keep them alive; just what on the lowest stage of life, before all culture, the savage obtained—the bare necessaries of existence.

"There is no question nowadays about the abolition of subdivision of labour; all we require is that capital should be reduced to its proper function, to be the dead tool in the hand, not the master enslaving. We have no thought of doing away with subdivision of labour; on the contrary, we desire to extend and develop the principle. Division of labour is common labour, common union for production. Let this remain so. But what is required is that the individual gains in the common production should not be alienated from the worker, to the profit of the manufacturer. The work is common, and the gains should be common; the profit shared by all, as the work is shared by all, in proportion to their share in the work and activity in the discharge of it."

The ideal state of the world is one in which all work will be co-operative; when trade will be brought back to the proportions and conditions of the Middle Ages.

Such a state of things cannot come about in a day. Till it does, Lassalle asked the Government to advance capital to associations of artisans on this principle. He demanded of the State a hundred millions of thalers for the starting of a co-operative partnership factory. Small undertakings on this system would not succeed, he argued, they would be squeezed out of existence by those on a larger scale. "Nothing would be easier," he said, "than for free competition to crush down a handful of associated artisans. Economic questions can only be solved in the gross, never in retail. As the great battalions on the field, so are the masses of workmen, or the great capitalists, and it is the masses which prove decisive of victory on the economic battle-fields. Precisely for this reason, free competition, which is now strangling the artisan, may be turned to his advantage. But to do this, the great battalions must be on the side of the workmen. And this can alone be achieved by the State, which in the economic field, as on the battle-field, is the only power which can set the battalions in motion and assure them the victory."

The same system should be applied to the land. Till the whole of the land could be brought under co operative cultivation, he would have the Crown give up its "domains, or enable by loans large bodies of workmen to buy up the estates of impoverished landowners."

It is true, these undertakings would be small, but Lassalle was convinced, or pretended to be convinced, that they would be the mustard-seeds of a new era of social economy, which would in time overshadow the whole earth.

Such was Lassalle's system, clear, coherent, and practical if not practicable. The Prussian Government could hardly have better spent some of the milliards it wrung from France than by giving the disaffected workmen an opportunity of testing it.

The next great leader of Social Democracy is Karl Marx, born at Trèves in 1818, of a Jewish father. He studied in Berlin and Bonn, and became editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung.* Although he was son-in-law of the Minister von Westfalen, and his talents and connection combined to assure him a brilliant career, he turned from it, strong in principle, governed by his political and social convictions, that he might devote his life to the great question which had taken hold of his mind. Banished from Germany and France, he took refuge in London. In 1859 he published his first tirade against capital. In this work he showed that in the earlier history of the world, work alone was productive, and that capital was nowhere, but that now it was sovereign, and enchained labour. His great book on "Capital" was begun in 1867, when the first volume appeared. It is not yet complete. His style is obscure; imbued with Hegelianism, he imitates his master in wordiness and cloudiness of expression. According to him, the common labour at production is the measure of its market value and the source of all property. No man has a right over that on which he has expended no labour. Property is the produce of labour; when it is not, it is the spoliation of another. Capital is accumulated labour,—it is more, it is the accumulation of the labour of others. In the old world, the slave, in Mediæval times the serf, worked for his master, who lived, ate, drank, clothed himself on the fruit of the bondman's toil. He gave the serf or slave enough to keep him alive, but all the profit that came from his work accrued to the lord. Then the storm of the French Revolution burst. Serfdom, guilds, all the old feudal and protective machinery of the Middle Ages was broken to pieces. Free competition appeared. Labour was proclaimed emancipated, and great was the jubilation. But no real alteration was made. Still the labourer worked, and his profits went into the pockets of others, not now of the noble, but of the capitalist, the less respected *bourgeois.* He could no more lay by than before: he reaped the fields, winnowed the wheat, wove at the loom, and the profits went from him. It was still with him as before, a hopeless "sic vos non vobis——" "Eigenthum," said Lassalle, "ist Fremdthum," or, as Proudhon put it, "la propriété, c'est le vol."

Capital is a sponge which sucks up all profits of labour, and all the sweat of labour, and leaves the labourer nothing but bare necessaries. And the more capital grows the greater is its power of suction, the wider the area which it exhausts. The artisan is smothered by the produce of his own hands. His work of yesterday rises up before him and beats him down, and plunders him of his wage to-day. The more the artisan has produced since 1789, the more he has enriched the manufacturer, increased the capital which is crushing him; the more labour is subdivided, the stronger becomes the chain which binds him. Hitherto, says Marx, history has shown us the expropriation of the workman. Time will bring about its revenge. The next to be expropriated will be the capitalist.

Great capitalists are continually killing small capitalists. In time, there will exist only a few magnates of capital face to face with a huge enslaved population. As the wealth of these few grows in geometric progression, so will the general mass of misery, depression, degradation, slavery, and exspoliation; but so also will grow the sense of rage and exasperation of an organized and united class of artisans. The situation will become unendurable. There will be an explosion in society. The hour of the capitalist will have struck. The expropriator will be himself expropriated.

Private accumulated capital is the negation of private property earned by labour. By an inevitable process it is leading to its own negation. Private property will recover its legitimate position as the produce of each man's toil. The plunder taken from the masses will be redistributed among them. The reign of the usurpers will be at an end.

Marx expects no alteration in the structure of society at present; he looks to the rapid development of capital till it becomes unendurable. Lassalle looked to a peaceable solution to the question, Marx to a violent one. Marx and the present Socialists lay, naturally, no stress upon co-operative societies, care not for co-partnerships such as Lassalle proposed.

> These cold ways,
> That seem like prudent helps, are very poisonous
> Where the disease is violent.
>
> *Coriol.* act iii. sc. 1.

All means for ameliorating the condition of the workmen stave off the day of restitution of all things, give the present social order a longer spell of life. The great demand they make that labour may receive all it earns cannot be carried out without an universal revolution; and, therefore, the worse things go now, so much the better, the sooner the cataclysm.

If we inquire how the ideal of Socialism is to be carried into effect, we are told that all production will be carried on by the

State. The State now monopolises the telegraphs, the railways, the post-office, the sugar-culture, the salt-mines, and proposes to monopolise tobacco-growing. Let it in like manner monopolise every trade, let it embrace in itself tinkering, tailoring, baking, butchering, and distribute—the tin to the tinker, to others the cloth to make into suits, to others the flour to knead into bread, and to others the oxen to cut up for meat. Let it do more; let it work all the mines, rear the sheep, grow the corn and pasture the oxen. As it has now a navy for warlike purposes, let it have also a navy for commercial purposes, and bring to Germany coffee and currants. Let it grow the malt, and brew the beer, and distribute it in Government taverns by the hands of State-paid Kellnerins. Is this impracticable? Experience proves that it is not. In the villages it is still customary for the "Gemeinde" to find the wood and stone and lime, and pay the carpenters and masons by the day. In the towns, the actors, sweeps, and cesspool-emptiers are town officials, why not also the bakers and brewers? "Now, a manufacturer," says Lassalle, "can do what no feudal lord could achieve, he can convert the sweat drop of the workman into a fountain of fresh sweat for the man, and into a thaler for himself." This must be done away with. All private capital, so far as it is *productive capital*, *i.e.* landed property, factories, machinery, &c., and all that serves for the production of more wealth, must be abolished, as individual property, and pass over to the possession of the commonwealth. But not *superfluity of money* so far as it is left unproductive. For instance, if a man has a 1,000*l.*, he may spend it in eating, drinking, hearing the opera, buying pictures, going to the mountains for "Sommerfrische," but must not expend it in buying a new loom, or invest it in anything which will bring a per-centage. It will be seen that Marx is as rigid a disciple of old Catholic Canon Law doctrines as Lassalle was of German trade doctrines; and that both are reactionary, and diametrically opposed to the Liberal theories of Schulze-Delitzsch and the Fortschritt party.

Ultramontanists are never weary of extolling the Middle Ages as the period of ideal prosperity. The Socialists desire to reproduce that ideal on the same lines in modern times, with but one omission—that of Religion.

It is, however, altogether a mistake to regard Socialism as anti-Christian. It is *aneu*-Christian only. It may be said to realise the ideal programme of Catholicity; and the Roman Church would certainly be glad to come to terms with it were there any prospect of its ultimate success. That Jesuits have coquetted with Social Democracy is no secret. The Roman Church has now nothing to lose by a revolution in the political and social worlds. The clergy live up to the programme of Socialism. They have now no chance of hoarding capital. In Cæsarism the Papacy meets with a mighty foe: in a State founded on Socialist principles, it would be supreme.

Professor Treischke has taunted the Socialists with their godlessness. Herr Most and other stump orators of his calibre have given occasion to such charges, but anti-Christian they are not. "We avoid especially everything which may offend religious feeling," writes the author of the "Socialistische Replik" to Herr Treischke: "we leave every man free to the exercise of his faith; only there do we fight against religion when we find it in conscious falsehood labouring to stultify the people. We have far more respect for the faith of our childish years than you, and will never endure that it be made part of the calculations of the brutal and egoistical politics of the wealthy classes, and be desecrated by such usage. Name to me a single Socialist writing, in which you can find such disgusting, such unseemly scoffs at the foundations of the Christian religion, as are produced by your special colleague in historical legerdemain and deification of Bismarck, Herr Johannes Scherr!"

It is false also that Socialism preaches community of goods, the abolition of property. It preaches only community of *profits*, and the abolition of capital as a productive agent. "How would you define Socialism, Herr Schulze?" asks Lassalle. "Thus, no doubt: The parcelling of property by society. But do you not see that this is precisely the process now in full vigour? Precisely now, under the make-believe of individual production, is chance engaged in distributing fortunes capriciously among the social units. Social distribution goes on daily, but in an anarchical fashion. And it is this anarchical distribution which creates commercial property. What Socialism asks is, not to abolish property, but to make it individual property, won by labour.

"We are quite ready to allow already accumulated capital to remain intact: its accumulation has been justified by the laws which allowed it, but we are free to dispose of the capital of the future, the accumulation of which in a few hands we will not allow, but distribute it among the workers."

The charge that Socialism seeks the destruction of right of inheritance is also false. Not a single Socialist has proposed this. In the Middle Ages a man had always free disposal of the personal property he had acquired (*Erworbenes*); real property he could not devise; but real property will have ceased to exist when the Socialist programme is carried out. So far from the right of inheritance being threatened, it will be strengthened by intensification of the idea of the solidarity of the Family. Abrogation of right of inheritance would be too deep a wounding of the sense of family union for a Socialist agitator to obtain much sympathy were he to propose it. Moreover, the right of free disposal of property, if done away with, would destroy one of the strongest incentives to economy and activity—an incentive which Socialism has every reason to desire to stimulate, as conducive to the general good. The accumulation of property will be allowed to any extent, to be spent for enjoyment, for protection of the arts, etc., but not for the purpose of speculation. Labour may earn what it can, and save up, from generation to generation, but money must not be endowed with the power of generation. It is dead, and must remain dead.

It is false, altogether false, that Socialism has advocated "free love." There have been, indeed, demagogues and fanatics hitching themselves on to the skirts of Socialism, who have preached this offensive doctrine, but they have been promptly disavowed by the recognised leaders of the party. The Socialist view of marriage is precisely that of the Christian Church. The Socialist programme leaves marriage intact as a sacred institution. "We recognise and prize," writes the above-quoted opponent of Herr Treischke, "the moral might of marriage higher than do you, and it is on this ground that we are such implacable foes to the modern constitution of society. For this reason you are absolutely without excuse when you charge us with polygamous tendencies. If you want to play marriage as a trump card against us, you must let us see more respect for it in your modern society, and not, what is everywhere apparent in it, moral decay." "Have you ever run your eye through the saddest chapter of the Social Question, the chapter of female and child labour? Are you not aware that it is the reckless, remorseless making a profit out of our women, on whom the future of our people depends, which is one of the mainsprings of the wealth of your 'natural aristocracy,' one of the most powerful means of holding down the artisan class on the lowest social level? If the physical and moral dangers which naturally issue from these conditions have not radically ruined modern cultured races, you have only the artisans to thank, who will not shrink from the greatest sacrifices to preserve the honour of their wives and daughters. But when the last physical and moral check fails, which the family provides—when the work-girl, armed only with her bare hands, is brought into the market of your boastful society, what, I ask, is the fate in store for her? What is the economic regulator which makes all the difference between the highest pay and the poorest remuneration, scarce enough to keep body and soul together? It is—Professor!—it is your 'free love' and 'community of women' in its most loathsome and degrading form. The whole range of female activity, from the ballet-dancer to the humblest mill-girl, is open on the market to your 'natural aristocracy;' bidding for it is a lung of its existence. The capitalists would command our young women, at their own price and for what they willed, were they not stopped by the fence of married life which they cannot always with impunity overleap.[1] Professor, we fight tooth and nail against the modern system of production, because we are determined to vindicate the sanctity of marriage against 'free love;' whereas you, lauding our theories, which you appropriate as your own, act the reverse of them."[2]

Socialism does not preach class antagonism, but only hostility to the present commercial system. Marx says, in the preface to his book, "I do not show the forms of the capitalist and the landlord in a rosy light; but it must not be forgotten that these persons are the representatives of a system and interests, personifications of economic categories. They are not responsible for the evil of the system, they are necessary products of it, forms that must be evolved in the development of social progress, to be superseded and disappear in their course." And Lassalle urges, "The artisan must and ought never to forget, that all property once acquired is unassailable and legitimate; it is only when the capitalist seeks to perpetuate the present confusion, and sets himself in opposition to the advance of mankind in blind egoism, that he becomes the *bourgeois*." It is also a mistake to suppose that Socialism seeks the break-up of property into smaller and ever more infinitesimal portions. It is precisely this that has been done by the Code Napoléon, which has made the whole peasant class subject to Jew usurers. Subdivision of trade in manufactures has been taken advantage of by employers to enslave the artisans and draw the profits into their own purses. Subdivision of property in land has had precisely the same effect. The Jew has stepped into the place of the old landlord: the bauer toils all his life long, earns a bare subsistence, but all the profits of his farming are sucked up by the Jew usurer. The object of the movement, says the Socialist, is the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital. Towards this history is tending. When the middle class was ripe for independence, it precipitated the ruin of the aristocracy when they set themselves to oppose it in their selfish greed of power. Their position, their rights were historic, only,—empty forms, from which the animating spirit had flown. They stood, leaning on these hollow, pithless reeds, relying on these shadows of substances extinct, to fight natural rights, animated with eternal principles. Each host unfurled the banner of Rights, but one bore historic rights heraldically emblazoned, the rights of a dead civilization, and the other the living, ever renewing rights of humanity. There could be no doubt as to the result. The nobility made way for the middle class. The castle fell into ruins, and the factory rose. The pennant on the keep was replaced by the smoke-snake of the mill-chimney. Men no longer fought in the lists, but on the exchange; smote one another not to the heart, but in their purses. As the noble went down before the citizen, so must the citizen vanish before the artisan. The great period of commercial and manufacturing activity has been a chapter in history, to be now concluded. It was necessary that capital should build large factories, purchase machinery, subdivide labour, bring vast crowds of workmen to co-operate on one product, carry on wholesale manufacture and trade, to prepare the way for the wholesale trade and manufacture *par excellence*, which will be carried on by the State. It was necessary that men should learn first co-operation in production, before they could advance to co-operation in distribution. We have got so far that we see our goal, we see whither history points; and never will Liberalism and the middle class succeed in arresting the evolution of the destiny of the masses, and snap short off the progress of history. "We must look to the past," adds the Socialist, "and take from it lessons for the future." Capital in money was never endowed with fertility till labour was subdivided. In the natural state of society, the shilling stuck to the owner. The Church forbade usury, that is, the giving of money the faculty of procreating in its own image. She did well. In the Middle Ages money was borrowed as it is now, but then no opportunity offered of converting the loan into a means of acquiring money. It was borrowed to relieve want, not to speculate upon.[1] If society, for the common good, forbade usury three or four centuries ago, it may forbid it again, a century hence, having discovered by bitter experience what a curse it has proved. This is all the expropriation sought by Socialism. It is cast in our teeth, that our theory could never be carried into practice. We answer it *has*, and it beat the opposed theory when put to the test of experience. In the Middle Ages the feudal system represented that you advocate The few expropriated the many. But in the towns the communal system throve, and the towns waxed so strong on that system that they broke the power of the feudal aristocracy. With the sixteenth century that communal system was abandoned by trade, and the feudal introduced under the form of plutocracy.

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[1] German mothers in the gentle and middle classes do not nurse their own children, but hire for them wet nurses, who are girls who have had illegitimate children. These are paid higher wages than other servants, and are made much of. A premium is thus put on loss of chastity.

[2] *Herr von Treischke der Socialistentödter. Eine Socialistische Replik.* Leipz. 1875, p. 33.

As concerns landed property, every one knows that originally the land was common to all. It is so to this day in Java, and there agriculture is nevertheless most intensive, and there in less than a hundred years the population has risen from two millions to seventeen and a half millions; so favourable has the system shown itself. Every parish in Germany has still its common land

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[1] "Ea propria est usurarum interpretatio, quando videlicet ex usu rei, quæ non germinat, nullo labore, nullo sumptu nullove periculo lucrum fœtusque conquiri studetur."—*Decree of fifth Lateran Council.*

and forest. It was when agriculture became intensive rather than extensive, that common land was appropriated to householders. But now, throughout Germany, subdivision of property in land leads everywhere to wretched farming. The earth does not produce one half of what it would in the hands of a large holder; and we see that it is a commercial and financial necessity to do away with these minute holdings and bring the land under wholesale culture, by the community. As population increases, properties dwindle, and the land produces less; the time must come when society will no longer endure this waste of resources. The land must be taken back by the community. No doubt the bauer will object; but he will soon see how much more prosperous he will become when the Jew has his claws no more in him.

The State will organise national labour. General production will be a social function, and private speculation done away with for ever. There will be no living on rents and funded property, for property in land and banks will be abolished. In the place of private speculators and manufacturers, the State, the collective organ, will act, and regulate production by demand. By this means the anarchy of competition will be supplanted by national order.

It would be impossible to over-estimate the advantages of such an organisation—could it be realised. Now capital and labour are alike wasted, squandered on swindling, on fruitless undertakings which end in bankruptcy. Much labour and much capital would be economised, when demand and production balanced each other exactly. Such an organisation would call forth, not only a more equal, but a more intense production. Many branches of industry, only occupied with ministering to luxury, would disappear. The moral advantage would be scarcely less. Nothing is so mischievous to the moral fibre as waste of time. When every man must work that he may eat, a healthy life will pervade the whole community. All will be busy and all will be happy in the consciousness that they are profiting themselves and the community.

As the production of goods will be common, so will be the distribution of profits. The prime law of the community of the future will be "To work its full wage." Not that each should substantially possess the product of his own hands, as in the Mediæval commonwealth. The immense advance made by society in subdivision of labour makes this impossible, but each will receive the absolute *value* of his work. The measure of the value will be—true to the Socialist principle that work is the source of all value—the day's labour. Who-oever shall have done a certain number of hours' work will receive a certificate or cheque for its worth, and at the State stores he can provide himself with anything he desires up to the value of his cheque. As all products, all goods, are valued by the amount of work bestowed on them—because they are, so to speak, the crystallisation of work—it will be always possible to fix their value, and this will be so low as to leave only a slight profit over. Thus all independent trade and speculation—the market, in fact—will in the Socialist state have no footing; and thus the first object of the system will be attained.

With respect to the normal work-day, it is not to be supposed that the number of hours will be fixed for all alike, nor that intelligent and unintelligent work should be reckoned of like value.[1] On the contrary, all work will be appreciated by the skill it demands, the discomforts and danger to health it may entail, the intelligence which it requires for its execution. All these will be taken into account and given their proper value. The man of learning, the student of science, the educator of the young, the painter, the poet, the musician, all will receive recognition and payment, as workers together for the common good. They will be paid out of the slight profit made on the sale of goods in the general stores,—the very simplest method of taxation conceivable.

Such is the Socialist economical system. It is one dazzling and full of promise. Presented before the artisans of Berlin, Leipzig, Elberfeld, and other large towns, where Protestantism has lost its hold on their affections, where, however, in their present distress, they are craving for a religion, Socialism has become, not a theory of government only, but a religion. It opens to them a glorious future: it assures them a reign of justice, liberty, fraternity, and equality on the earth.

Police and imprisonment will not destroy it; ideas are not put down by laws. Repression may make martyrs, but will not prevent the spread of the creed. An atmosphere of ideas is precisely the atmosphere that should not be concentrated and condensed, but given expansion and dilution. Nitrogen is innocuous, except when crystallised in glycerine. Enthusiasts are always to be found to whom expression of some kind is an imperative necessity; they muse over their theories till the fire kindles, and then, if not given space for explosion, will blow down a house even if they bury themselves under the ruins.

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[1] This is not, however, the doctrine of Liebknecht, or of several of the speakers at the Gotha Conference.

If Socialism were a foreign importation, a cordon of an effectual kind might be drawn round the Empire to prevent the inoculation of the guileless, healthy German operative with this contagious French foot-and-mouth disease. But it is not so. It is of home growth. German socialism is distinct from French communism.

That it is extensively propagated and believed in, admits of no doubt. In spite of all Government restrictions and precautions, it grows. In 1876 as many as 51 of the representatives of Social Democracy in the Gotha Congress fell under the arm of the law, in all 141 times, to the total amount of 205 months 30 days' imprisonment, and 1,307 thalers fine, beginning with 1 day's imprisonment or 1 thaler fine, up to 44 months' imprisonment or 515 thalers fine for one person. Liebknecht underwent 44 months' imprisonment. Hasenclever had to pay 515 thalers fine. Bebel was imprisoned 35 months, Hurlemann 9, Slauk over 8 months. In Saxony, during the five years 1870–75, as many as 50 Social Democrats underwent together 500 months' confinement. One would have supposed that the great blunder of the crusade against the Ultramontanes would have taught the Chancellor wisdom, and that he would not attempt the same unsuccessful crusade against Socialism. But a despotic government never learns, it hardens itself in its blundering policy.

In 1875 Herr Geib stated in Hamburg that 503 associations of Social Democrats had been organised in Germany—an increase of 66 per cent in two years. At the Socialist Congress at Gotha in 1876, there were 101 delegates, representing 284 places, and 37,774 members.

In 1871 the Socialists polled only 1,961 votes in Berlin; in 1877 they polled 31,576; in 1878 the votes recorded for a Socialist member were 56,336. At the General German elections in 1871 they only collected 120,000 votes, and managed to return two members; in 1874 they had 340,000 votes and nine members; in 1877, the number of votes for Socialist candidates was 497,000, and twelve members were returned to the legislature. In 1878, in spite of harsh, repressive measures, in spite of their inability to hold meetings, or even to state their views freely in the press, the Socialist candidates polled far more votes that they did in the previous year. If they have not so many representatives in the Reichstag as before, this is due to the fact that the German election law makes no provision for the representation of minorities. They are practically extinguished, unless they happen to be a local majority. Had there existed three-cornered constituencies, or had *élection au scrutin de liste* been employed, the Socialist party in the German Parliament would have been greatly strengthened.

In spite of repression the Socialist press shows no loss of activity. In 1869 it issued only six Social-Democratic papers; when the anti-socialist laws were passed suppressing these publications there were forty-seven, of which thirty-two were political, and three comic.[1] The illustrated *Neue Welt* at first numbered 18,000 subscribers; in 1878, 30,000. *Der Arme Konard*, the calendar of the party, sold in 1878 to the amount of 40,000 copies. Socialist ideas are by no means confined to the lower stratum in society. The whole professional class is more or less infected with them. This class, living in a world of dreams, delighting in destructive criticism, utterly unacquainted with the practical aspect of such questions, has been captivated by the specious promises of Socialism. This is especially the case with the professors of political economy in the German universities. Socialistic doctrines of trade are too reactionary not to attract the sympathy of protectionists, and the advocacy of State encouragement of private industry is quite in harmony with the tenets of Socialism. Free trade aggravates the distress at home. The chief professor of political economy at the Berlin University is a rank, an undisguised Socialist. In his hostility to private property and his sympathy with the theory of State control of manufacture and sale, he is quite as far advanced as the Berliner *Freie Presse* itself.[2]

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[1] *Eulenspiegel* (Mainz), *Leuchtkugeln* (Brunswick . and *Krakehler* (Cassel).

[2] A writer in the *Saturday Review* of March 23, 1878, says very truly that the general elections of 1878 strongly impressed Germans with two remarkable facts: in the first place, the chief stronghold of the Socialists was shown to be Berlin itself, so that it appeared that the greatest support of doctrines which seem to be the offspring of sheer ignorance was found in the very centre of German

The Social-Democratic party has been accused, if not of complicity with, at all events of responsibility for, the two attempts made on the life of the Emperor. The accusation is most unjust. Hödel was a man of weak intellect, made weaker by depraved morals; and Nobiling's brain trembled on the verge of insanity The party was as little guilty of their wicked and foolish attempts as was the Liberal in that of Biland on the pastor Heinrici, or the Ultramontane in that of Kullmann on Prince Bismarck.

If violence be resorted to, it is not to advance the cause, but to revenge the curtailment of natural rights. Shooting the Emperor, or Bismarck, would not advance the Social millennium by a day; but it may be the nemesis of an indignant people against those who deny them the liberty of free propagation of their ideas. Those ideas in themselves are harmless. They are an historic theory, a prophecy of what is to be, a calculation of forces. The theory may be wrong, the prophecy false, the calculation put out by unreckoned elements. That can only be proved by experience. Let it be proved by experiment. At least, let many minds consider it from their many standing-points, and point out the weak scales in the harness, and thrust the arrows of criticism through the joints they find. The experiment is preposterous, say many; but it is not preposterous, it is only premature. Free trade has not been fully tried. The Liberal programme has not been carried out in its entirety; and till that has been tested and has broken down, the era of Social Democracy has not come. We have less

education, and indifference to the Fatherland was most zealously proclaimed in the very centre of German military glory. Then, again, it was discovered, to the surprise of many honest and respectable persons, that the Socialists by no means all belonged to the mob. Decorous people, dressed in an unexceptionable manner, and even to some extent wearing kid gloves, were seen to go solemnly to the poll and proclaim themselves adherents of the lamented Lassalle. They were not Conservatives wishing to give a wholesome lesson to the *bourgeoisie*, but men who were frankly sick of modern society and repudiated it in spite of the advantages which they personally derived from it. They would probably have hesitated to drink beer with twelve hundred ladies in a dancing-saloon, or to wear a red scarf at an irreligious funeral; but when they had merely to go to the poll, they had the courage of their opinions and plumped for a Socialist.

The Election of Hamburg of 1880 has shown the growth of Socialist doctrines in spite of all efforts by Government to stamp them out. Hartmann, the Socialist, registered 13,155 votes against the Progressist candidate's 6,451, and the National Liberal's 3,583.

of Socialism in England, because free trade and a free circulation of labour have made prosperity pretty general. Germany has imported our manufacturing system, without throwing open her ports, and whilst tying down her people to the land. She reaps the evil and none of the good.

The attempts made to repress Social Democracy only aggravate the disorder, and, in the mean time, the elements of a dangerous combination are being brought together by a common persecution. Ultramontanism has nothing to fear from Social Democracy and much to gain. For a century the decrees of Popes against usury have been the derision of modern civilisation. Ultramontanism can come before Social Democracy flaunting this fact. The Church, it can say, and say with truth, laid down the very principles which you advocate, and condemned the whole modern system of making capital breed capital. The world would not listen to her. A hundred years of breaking banks, ruined industries, money panics, and trade failures have shown mankind that the Church was right and speculative trade was wrong. The commercial system of the nineteenth century grew up on lines condemned by the Church, and experience has justified *her*. That an alliance between Ultramontanism and Socialism is possible is proved by the fact of the growth of the latter among the Catholic population of Brittany. Friends living there have assured me that this is the case; and that the poor, who have been known as devoted to their religion, are becoming eager Communists as well. Pointing to the Bible they declare that Christ was the first prophet of this social gospel, and the early Church the first Communistic society. Christ, they argue, came to be not merely the *moral*, but also the *social* regenerator of mankind. For nineteen centuries moral regeneration has alone been attempted: let us now look at Him as the recaster of the social system, and, taking his precepts, act up to them literally. For nineteen centuries the inculcation of the moral law has led to small results. The morals of men are scarcely better than they were in the days of heathenism, because governments have refused to establish the whole Gospel, and allow Christianity a field for developing its social principles, except within the walls of a monastery. But when the body politic is reformed on the Gospel system, on the system of the Apostolic Church, on the system of the Canonists, and of the great monastic patriarchs, then it will be found that the moral law is more easily kept. How is it possible, in the present condition of trade, to observe the eighth commandment in the spirit? Manufacture trade, must be more or less fraudulent, or the manufacturer, the trader, is ruined. How is it possible for the seventh commandment to be observed? Marriage is a prerogative reserved to the wealthy—at least in towns. The clerk and shopman cannot take to themselves wives and make homes, on account of the cost of living and the uncertainty of trade. The consequences are a widespread demoralisation. It is of no avail the Church preaching purity, when the social condition is such that marriage is unattainable. This alone proves that the commercial situation is unnatural, and if unnatural, anti-Christian also. It is the natural right of every man to establish a household. Reorganise society on the basis of natural and Christian right, and the sun will shine out again over the dark places of society. Take the ordinary life of a young man or lady of wealth. The day is spent in killing time, life is wasted in a round of pleasures that pall by repetition. Most of the vice in society arises from the empty heart seeking ever new gratifications in the hope of appeasing an eternal craving. Every form of debauchery is a new stimulant poured into a hungry stomach. It intoxicates and enfeebles, it does not satisfy and brace to action. Satan will always find mischief for idle hands to do. More than half the infidelities in married life are the ugly crop that springs out of idle hours. An untilled field grows briers and thistles. If every man and woman be made to work, the whole atmosphere of society will be refreshed and purified. Vice still will be; but it will be rough, not exquisite. Work, not pleasure, will occupy the heart; healthy exercise will invigorate the moral as well as the physical system. Time will be utilised, not killed. Those who live now as parasites on the commonwealth will fall off, and the race disappear. All human beings, not a few, will labour together for the common weal.

The old *régime* was bad enough; for under it a few lived only for pleasure, and the many worked. But they did, unconsciously, one great good. They preserved a sense of honour, a reverence for truth. The modern *régime* is at once a plutocracy and a kakistocracy. An escutcheon may be stained, but a money-bag cannot blush. All the evils of an aristocracy remain, and none of the advantages. The old aristocracy was lavish and licentious; the new plutocracy is ostentatious and obscene.

Such arguments may be heard from the mouths of devout Catholics in France. The fusion has begun there between the Church and the Commune. It has not proceeded far, but it has begun. In Germany this is not the case. German Catholic workmen are not as yet infected with Socialistic views. But this is a condition of affairs not likely to last. Catholicism and Socialism have a natural tendency to coalesce. The priests are not vehemently hostile to it. The purse-proud bürger has proved himself too offensive for them to desire the perpetuation of the species.

M. Tissot, in his "Vienne et la Vie Viennoise," gives a conversation he had with an Austrian priest who had taken up Socialist views. I will give the words of a priest in South Germany on the same subject. "During the last three hundred years the Catholic Church has had the most difficult of all tasks to perform. She has had to find a *modus vivendi* for Christians in a social condition for which the Gospel was not calculated. Take the Sermon on the Mount. Is it possible to carry out its provisions in the nineteenth century? Luther was brought face to face with the same problem. He had penitents; he knew by the confessional how impossible it was to apply the hard and fast lines of Gospel morality to the men and women of the century in which he lived, in which already life was becoming complex. He solved the difficulty in his rough and ready way by making the moral law an invention of Moses, and free grace and forgiveness the revelation of Christ. His Gospel was emancipation of the conscience from the restraints of the moral law. It was impossible for the Church to adopt his solution. She has tried another. She has made pardon for sin almost as easy to be obtained as it is under Luther. She maintains her protest, but that is all. There is a higher and better way, but under the existing state of things it is impossible for the world at large to follow it. She exhorts to the higher, but connives at men following the lower. This is the Jesuit programme. That it is not satisfactory, most will allow. But something had to be done, and moralists did what they could. The condition of society is changing, and we wait for a better and healthier state in which the Church may take a more dignified line. Our course now is a *pis aller*, nothing more. We are impatient at this. We believe that the Gospel scheme is adapted to something better. We believe that Christianity has not said its last word. We see everywhere society breaking up, governments tottering, and a new light breaking in on the minds of men, showing a way in which the great wrongs of mankind may be redressed, and—what touches us, spiritual guides, nearly—in which the literal carrying out of the Gospel maxims of morality may be made possible; a condition in which moral questions are not a tangle to be solved only by casuistry, but simple, to be cut with common sense. We look at the teaching of Christ, and we find in it the outlines of this new social philosophy. We look at the history of the early Church, and we find attempts made to reconstitute society on a basis which is precisely that of Marx and Lassalle. We open our canonists, and discover that Social-Democratic dogmas are the social dogmas of the infallible Church, formulated before modern society had developed into the monster which it now is. De Maistre a hundred years ago said: 'When I consider the general weakening of moral principles, the immensity of our needs, and the inanity of our means, it seems to me that every true philosopher must choose between these two hypotheses—either he must form a new religion altogether, or Christianity must be rejuvenated in some extraordinary manner. Everything announces some grand unity, towards which we are advancing with mighty strides.' That is what I expect too, and expect to find it in Social Democracy—not in a godless communism, but in a great Christian social revival. Wait a bit. The day may not be so distant when the successor of St. Peter will set himself at the head of this movement, and Christ will appear Himself not merely as the moral but also the social regenerator of the world. Empires, constitutional monarchies, republics have been tried, and have not proved completely successful. Perhaps a great Christian Social-Democratic State will prove the solution of the question how men are to be governed. The Apostolic Chair has not received sufficient favours from modern emperors, kings, and presidents to have much scruple in consigning them to the lions. The phœnix may consume her nest, but she will spring from the flames newborn, victorious."

I do not say that Socialism has made much way among German

Catholics. On the contrary, I assert that it has not; but I do assert that Catholicism is not likely to oppose its extension.[1]

There stands, however, in Germany, one dyke against which Social Democracy may dash itself, but which it will never undermine or overleap—not the iron empire, not penal laws, not the military force, not the Catholic Church, but the great Bauernstand—a Portland Beach of very small pebbles, loosely lying together, uncemented, but impossible to move or break through. The Bauernstand clings to real property with inflexible tenacity. Not a bauer can be allured by the dreams of communism; and the Bauernstand is the basis of the empire. In the Russo-Turkish war, the spade proved a more important weapon than the bayonet; and in the future battle between property and proletariatism, the spade will make the rifle pits in which the capitalists will cower, and from which they will decimate their assailants.

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[1] The encyclical of the present Pope on Socialism has been in fact a slap in the face of the Jesuits, who have for long been coquetting with Social Democracy, and whose trump card has been the above programme.

CHAPTER XIV.

CULTURE.

Viola.—The rudeness that hath appeared in me, have I learned from my entertainment.

Twelfth Night, act i. sc. 5.

For thirty years Germany was a battle-field. In Saxony 900,000 men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia the number of inhabitants had sunk to one-fourth. Augsburg, instead of 80,000 inhabitants, numbered but 18,000. Every province, every town throughout the empire had suffered in like manner. The country was completely impoverished. The trades had disappeared. The busy looms were hushed, the factories destroyed, the warehouses gutted. Vast provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited. In Franconia—which, owing to her central position, had been traversed by every party during the war—the misery and depopulation had reached such a pitch, that the Franconian Estates, with the assent of the bishops, abolished the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, and permitted each layman to marry two wives, on account of the numerical superiority of the women over the men. Science and the arts had fled the realm. In place of learning, pedantry dragged on a wretched existence; and when a desire came for works of art, Germany was fain to import a style from France. It had none of its own. Thirty years are a generation. A generation had grown up without the restraints of moral or other law; had grown up with their only idea of right—the right of the strongest. Mediæval culture had been killed in the course of development. The humanising effects of a gradually unfolding civilisation were undone, and the whole nation was replunged in barbarism. Chivalrous respect for women was gone; domestic life was done away with. To bouse and fight in the taverns became the practice of men. Art had to be recreated or imported. Poetry, literature, painting were extinguished. Religion also had expired.

I was speaking once at Lille with an old French commercial traveller, on the irreligion of Frenchmen as compared with Belgians. He made the excuse: "Foreigners forget, in judging us, that a whole generation grew up without God, without public worship, without religion of any sort, under the first Republic. God, worship, religion became only a tradition. The Church had to relay her foundations, and start with the reconversion of a country with a gap in its past."

In Germany culture of every kind became a tradition only. A gulf of thirty years stood between the old civilisation and the new era. Everything had to be reconquered, on every field. Everywhere lay only ruins; and it was not till more than thirty years later that the heart came back to men to set up again the fallen stones.

This most important consideration must not be put aside in estimating modern Germany. We have had no such break in the continuity of our civilisation since the Wars of the Roses, and they were a trifle compared with that of thirty years in Germany. Our social development has, therefore, not been spasmodic, but leisurely and methodical. But in Germany civilisation has not been as systematic. The advance has not been all along the line. In some departments there has been extraordinary development; in others stagnation German wood-engraving is absolutely unsurpassed by any in Europe. German architecture is in the lowest abyss of degradation. In figure-drawing German artists are all but unrivalled; in colour they are nowhere. In poetry they have conquered a proud position; in romance they have yet one to make. In science they have proved themselves masters of destructive criticism; they have done little as yet in the more difficult work of construction. "Germans," says Dr. Croly in his preface to "Salathiel," "are never content till they have demonstrated all facts to be fiction, and laboured to convert all fiction into facts."

The German intellect is sharpened and polished into the most admirable instrument, but the "manner" which "maketh man" is left sadly untutored. This is what every Frenchman or Englishman notices. It is impossible to blink a patent fact. But allowance is not made often enough for the Thirty Years' war, whose fatal influence is still felt in this particular. It is not my wish or intention to illustrate this deficiency in culture of manner by modern examples, but rather to excuse it. Germans who have associated with foreigners are ready enough to admit the want of refinement at home, and lament it; but they can always excuse it by pointing back at their history. Modern *politesse* is the development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of mediæval chivalry. Mediævalism, with all its good as well as its evil, was buried in Germany in the seventeenth century, and a new civilisation started. In two hundred years the fruit cannot be as mature as that which has ripened through seven hundred.

The mischief wrought by the Thirty Years' war was not merely the rupture with the past. It went farther; it interfered with future amendment by insulating the classes with wide spaces between them. The great body of the landed gentry was done away with. The fortunes of the war, and the policy of the princes, had ruined them. There was no chain along which social currents could flow from the prince to the peasant. The citizen in like manner was left to harden into his own peculiarities and class prejudices. He had nothing in common with the peasant, and was brought into no contact with the prince, for he was not *hoffähig*. The *gentleman*, who has bequeathed his title to describe all that is honourable, courteous, right in feeling, and considerate in conduct, the conservator of traditional virtues where courts are corrupt, bade fair to become an extinct species in Germany, like the Urochs. There were gentlemen before the Thirty Years' war, as there were giants before the Flood. The gentleman is a produce of many ages, the resultant of many forces. He is not developed in a day.

With the kindest of hearts and the best of intentions, a German omits the little courtesies, and even decencies of life, without which civilized life, as we understand it in England, is intolerable. His mode of eating, even in good society, is on a level with that of our agricultural labourers. With a rudeness dictated by economy of postage-stamps, or disinclination to trouble himself with writing, he does not acknowledge and answer letters. With a romantic admiration for the fair sex, almost grotesque in its ideality, he will treat his wife and daughters with scant courtesy even before company. He maintains the extravagant external demonstrations of respect observed in the last century, but has no ease in female society. I do not like to say this; but it is the statement of a truth, and I only do so to excuse it. It is in no captious spirit that I remark it; but, if no notice be taken of it, it will not be amended. The German nature is not guilty of this blemish, but the German history. The stars in their courses have fought against Teutonic culture. A distinguished Protestant, after a visit to Rome, returned a Catholic. "The religion must be true," he said, "or it could not survive such scandals and villanies as are perpetrated at Rome." The German nature must be endowed with marvellous resistance to bad influences not to be irredeemably corrupted. It is the "entertainment" to which Germans have been subjected which makes "rudeness appear" in them.

The court everywhere sets an example of manners and mode of life. Let us look at what court life was in Germany when it had recovered the exhaustion consequent on the Thirty Years' war.

"Ich bin gut Deutsch," said Frederick William I. when he succeeded to the Prussian throne. "Ich will nichts von den Blitz- und Schelmfranzosen;" and he introduced a reaction against French manners which were infiltrating his court. That reaction meant recurrence to a brutality and savagery tolerable only as an inevitable consequence of war. He despised everything that pertained to culture. Of the great Leibnitz he said scornfully, "Bah! the fellow is not big enough and upright enough to stand guard There can be no good in him." If he said that a pinch of common sense was worth a university full of learning, he was not far wrong; for the learning in the universities was then but pedantry. He was a bitter foe to aristocratic pretensions. When, in 1717, the Count of Dohna, as marshal of the nobility of Prussia, presented him with a remonstrance against the taxation of the nobility, which concluded with the words in French, "*Tout le pays sera ruiné,*" the king burst out with, "*Tout le pays sera ruiné? Nihil credo*; but this *credo*, that the authority of the aristocracy will be ruined. I will establish my sovereignty as a *rocher* of bronze." One evening a new chamberlain saying grace at table began, "The Lord bless *you*" instead of "*thee*." The king interrupted grace: "You dog!

In God's eyes you and I are a pair of scurvy dogs—read grace aright." As Frederick William was riding round Berlin one day, he saw a poor Jew slink out of his way. He stopped, seized on the man, and asked him why he was trying to make off. "Sire! I was afraid of you!" said the scared Hebrew. The king caught him by the scruff of his neck, and laying into him with his riding whip with fury, roared, "Fear me! fear me! I'll teach you to love me!"

The palace was furnished, like the house of a citizen, with common bare tables and chairs, and no carpets on the floors. In private the king was a despotic master. His daughter, the Margravine of Baireuth, relates: "My brother Frederick told me that one morning, when he went into the king's room, our father seized him by the hair, flung him down, and after he had exhausted the strength of his arm on the boy's poor body, he dragged him to the window, took the curtain rope, and twisted it round his neck. The prince had presence of mind and strength to grasp his father's hands and scream for help. A chamberlain came in and plucked the boy away from the king."

King Frederick William entertained a bitter dislike for the unfortunate prince. Frederick was very beautiful, and delicately formed. The timidity inspired by the severity of his father was mistaken by the latter for cowardice. His son devoted his leisure to the study of French works, especially of Voltaire. His father, on discovering this, punished him unmercifully with his cane. The royal youth attempted to escape, was discovered, seized at Frankfurt and carried into the presence of his father, who personally ill-treated him, grossly outraged and insulted him in a brutal speech, and, drawing his sword, was on the point of running him through the body when he was prevented by General Mosel. The prince and his accomplice, Lieutenant von Katt, were, however, condemned by court-martial to death for desertion, and the execution of the sentence was only prevented by the representations of the foreign courts. Frederick pined for several weeks in prison with a Bible and a book of hymns for recreation. A scaffold was erected opposite his prison window, and he was compelled to witness the execution of his friend Katt.

The Margravine of Baireuth, in her "Memoirs," gives us an insight into the domestic arrangements of the king:—

"At 10 o'clock in the morning my sisters and I went to my mother, and attending her presented ourselves before the king in the adjoining room, and there we had to sigh away the whole morning. At length came dinner. For this were provided six badly dressed bowls of food, to supply twenty-four persons, and most of them had to satisfy their stomachs with the smell of the messes. After dinner, the king seated himself in his leather lounging chair, and went to sleep for two hours, during which I worked. As soon as the king woke he went out. The queen then returned to her room, and there I read aloud to her till the king's return. He only remained a few minutes and then went off to the *tabagie*. At 8 o'clock we supped plentifully; the king was present and ate heartily, but the others went away hungry from table. Till 1 o'clock the king generally remained in the *tabagie*, and till his return we were forced to sit up."

The *tabagie* was the king's smoking-room. The palaces at Berlin, Potsdam, and Wusterhausen were provided, every one, with a smoking divan—not an abode of luxury by any means—furnished with hard chairs, and a deal-table covered with green baize. To these he invited his generals, ministers of State, and the guests staying with him. The gentlemen sat round the long table, wearing their orders, and smoked out of long Dutch pipes. No one was allowed to shirk smoking. Prince Leopold of Dessau and the Imperial Ambassador Seckendorf were neither of them fond of tobacco, but they dared not appear without their pipes. Before each stood also a great mug of beer. The most important affairs of State were here discussed. Plenty of ale was kept running, and nothing delighted the king more than to make his princely visitors sick with tobacco-smoke, or drunk with lager beer. The principal butt of the evening was Gundling, the king's historian and newspaper censor. Frederick William, in mockery of the nobility whom he sought to stamp out or laugh down, created him a baron, ennobled his sixteen ancestors in their graves, and to insult the learned, appointed him President of the Academy of Sciences; he made him, moreover, his chamberlain and financial councillor. The king loved to make him tipsy, and then to jeer or lash him into paroxysms of drunken fury. Once the king had a bear brought from a menagerie and put in his bed. When Gundling was drunk and incapable, the sovereign, attended by his field-marshals, generals, and ministers of State, carried him to his room and tumbled him in between the sheets with Bruin. It was not owing to the king's mercy that poor Gundling was not hugged to death by the beast. On another occasion, when the Finanzrath had been seen to bed, the king and the rest of the tobacco-college besieged his bed-room with rockets and crackers, which were flung in at his window. On another, the king ordered masons to wall up the door of his room, and when Gundling retired from the *tabagie* for the night, somewhat elevated, he was unable to get into his apartment, and spent the night prowling about the palace looking for his room, and knocking up sleepers and invading wrong apartments. One evening the king had Fassmann, Gundling's rival, brought into the *tabagie*, and he made Fassmann read aloud to the company a satire composed by his majesty's orders against poor Gundling. This was too gross an insult to be borne. Gundling sprang up, seized the pan of red-hot turf that stood on the table for the lighting of the pipes, and flung it in Fassmann's face. The author, maddened by the pain, flew upon Baron Gundling, half stripped him, and belaboured his back with the hot pan, so that the latter was unable to sit for several weeks. Gundling died in 1731, and in profane frolic was buried in an empty wine-barrel instead of a coffin. Morgenstern succeeded Gundling. The king ordered the professors of the University of Frankfurt-on-Oder to dispute with Morgenstern in public on the theme, "Savants are quacks and fools." Morgenstern appeared in the pulpit of the disputation hall in a scarlet waistcoat and blue velvet gown frogged with silver lace, and great red trimmings, an enormous wig which hung half down his back, and at his side a fox's tail in place of a sword. After the disputation had continued an hour, the king stopped it, complimented Morgenstern, then turned to the audience, whistled, and clapped his hands. They followed the lead, and the disputation ended amid general uproar.

Court festivities ended in grotesque scenes. It was a standing custom for the king to dance with his generals and colonels after the queen and the ladies had withdrawn.

Frederick, the crown prince, had been forgiven by his father, on condition that he married a princess of Brunswick whom he did not love. He lived with his wife at Rheinsberg, where he kept a little court, dividing his time between the arts, the sciences, and revellings. How life ran in this little court may be seen from the description given of it by the Baron von Bielefeld, who was there in 1739, as guest.[1] "No sooner were we at table, than the prince began to propose healths, one after another, to all of which we were obliged to pay honour. Then followed a stream of jokes and jovialities on the part of the prince and those round him. The most serious brows lightened, merriment prevailed, and the ladies took their share in it. In the space of two hours, however, it became obvious to all that our stomachs were not fathomless abysses into which we might be everlastingly pouring spirits with impunity. I could no longer stand the atmosphere, dense with fumes of all sorts, and I went out to draw a gasp of fresh air. On my return, the vapours began to bewilder my brain. I had left before me a glass of water. During my absence the princess emptied it out, and filled it up with champagne. My senses were somewhat blunted, and not perceiving the joke, I poured my wine into the champagne, supposing it to be water. In order to complete my destruction, the prince ordered me to sit at his side, and began to converse affably with me, and made me drink glass after glass of Lunelle. . . . Wine makes people susceptible. The ladies were overwhelmed with expressions of love. Presently, by accident or otherwise, the crown princess broke her glass. This was the signal for us, in our ungovernable joviality, to follow her example. In a moment the glasses were flying about into every corner of the hall; all the glass, porcelain, mirrors, chandeliers, bottles, dishes, everything was smashed to a thousand pieces. In the midst of this complete havoc, the prince stood like the brave man in Horace, contemplating the wreck of the world with eyes unmoved. But when, at last, out of the jollity there grew riot, he fled, assisted by his pages, and took refuge in his own rooms."

Rough and vulgar as the Prussian court had been under Frederick William, it did not greatly alter its character under Frederick II. He separated from his wife directly he came to the throne, and spent his time in listening to music, and reading French books, or conversing with French men of letters. He was close-fisted, and looked sharply after his cooks, that they did not purloin any of the broken victuals. He could not write German without crowding his lines with orthographic errors. In dress he was moderate, a Jew bought his wardrobe on his death for four hundred thalers. The covers of his chairs, sofas, etc., were smeared with tobacco, for he was a constant snuff-taker. In religion he was perfectly tolerant, for he regarded all religions as various modes of superstition. He allowed free speech and freedom to the press; "Reason as much as you like," he was wont to say, "but obey and pay."[1]

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[1] I am obliged to omit certain coarsenesses in this description.

Lessing, in a letter to Nikolai, dated August 25, 1769, thus describes the Prussian capital:—

"In Frenchified Berlin, freedom is reduced to thinking and writing about freedom, and bringing to market all the foolish things that can be said against religion. But let any one attempt to write plain facts, and speak out the truth to the courtiers, as Sonnenfels has done in Vienna, let any one venture to say a word for the subjects, and against despotism, and he will soon find out that this is the most enslaved country in all Europe." With this agrees what the Italian poet Alfieri wrote in 1770: "Prussia, with its many thousand salaried satellites, on which capricious authority is based, is but one huge watchhouse co-extensive with the kingdom; and Berlin is but one monstrous barrack."

On the intellectual condition of the capital, Lord Malmesbury thus expressed himself in 1772, in a letter to his father: "The society of Berlin is not expensive; it cannot be in a town where the inhabitants are not rich. The men are entirely military, uninformed on every other subject, and totally absorbed in that."[2]

On the moral condition of Berlin his judgment was as unfavourable. In 1773 he wrote to Mr. Batt: "The private life of Berlin will not bear being set upon paper."[3] And "none can be worse off for the comforts of social life than Berlin. Berlin is a town where, if '*fortis*' may be construed honest, there is neither '*vir fortis nec fœmina casta.*' A total corruption of morals reigns throughout both sexes in every class of life, joined to penuriousness, necessarily caused partly by the oppression of his present majesty, and partly by the expensive ideas they received from his grandfather, constituting the worst of human characters. The men are constantly occupied how to make straightened (*sic*) means support the extravagance of their life. The women are harpies, debauched through want of modesty rather than from want of anything else. They prostitute their persons to the best payer, and all delicacy of manners or sentiment of affection are unknown to them. Bad as this description is, I do not think I draw the picture in too bad colours. I came without any prepossession, and venture to suppose that I live here with too great a variety of people to be blinded by prejudice. All I can say in their favour is, that the example of irreligious neglect of all moral and social duties raised before their eyes by the king, I say this, joined to the success of all his undertakings, and the respect he enjoyed throughout Europe, have infatuated their better judgment, and show them vice in too advantageous a light." [1]

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[1] When a difference arose about hymn-books, he settled it by deciding "Let every man sing in church whatever foolery he likes."

[2] Earl Malmesbury's *Letters* London, 1870, vol. i. p. 255.

[3] Earl Malmesbury's *Diaries and Correspondence*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 94

George Forster was in Berlin in 1779. He wrote: "I was very much upset in my prejudices in favour of this great place which I brought with me. I find it externally more beautiful, but internally blacker than I anticipated. Berlin is certainly one of the finest towns in Europe, but, the inhabitants! Prodigality and tasteless enjoyment of life in them run out into bumptiousness, boastfulness, and gluttony, daring rationalism and barefaced dissolution of morals. The women are all rotten apples. But what chiefly disgusted me was the deification of the king in his foolish extravagance, by even intelligent people, that what is bad, false, unjust, and eccentric in him is lauded as magnificent and superhuman."

Frederick William II. succeeded "Old Fritz," and stern martial despotism was followed by the rule of a seraglio. He was married first to the Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick, but separated from her in 1769, and married the Princess Louise of Hesse-Darmstadt, who bore him his successor, Frederick William III. His chief favourite was Wilhelmine Encke, married to the Chamberlain Reitz, whom he elevated to be Countess of Lichtenau, and overwhelmed with estates and costly presents. When his eyes fell on Fräulein Julie von Voss, she, as did afterwards the Countess Sophie von Dönhoff, insisted on a left-handed marriage with the king, and this was concluded with the knowledge, if not the consent, of the queen. The Evangelical Consistory raised no objection to such august bigamy. Countess Dönhoff received from the king 200,000 thalers as her dower, her mother 50,000, her sister 20,000, and her uncle 40,000. It may be imagined how disagreeable it was for the queen, the crown prince, and the whole royal family to be forced by the king to attend the *soirée* of the Countess Lichtenau. In 1797, the king, struck with a mortal malady, returned to his capital from the baths of Pyrmont somewhat better, and a grand festival was held in Berlin, at which the countess appeared in Greek costume as Polyhymnia, and sang to the king some wretched verses of congratulation composed by herself. The monarch was so touched, that he bade the crown prince go to her and kiss her hand. Frederick William left behind him a debt of 49,000,000 thalers.

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[1] Earl Malmesbury's *Diaries and Correspondence*, London, 1844, vol. i.

But if the Prussian court was gross and sensual, it was outdone in sensuality and extravagance by others, pre-eminently by those of Saxony and Würtemberg. In the former, a Lutheran pastor and general inspector, John Leyser, had the effrontery to publish a work entitled "The Marrow of all Lands," urging polygamy as not only allowed by Holy Scripture, but necessary for salvation. The Elector, John George IV., cast aside his first wife, a Danish princess, for the Margravine of Brandenburg-Anspach. When he met her for the first time on her way to Dresden to be his wife, his first salutation was, "You must be mad! What do you mean by wearing a velvet gown in the dog days?" Formally, by written documents, basing his right on Holy Scripture, he took also Fräulein von Reitschütz to be his second wife, and had her created Countess of Rochlitz.[1]

Augustus of Saxony died in 1733, leaving three hundred and fifty-two children, among whom Maurice, the well-known Maréchal de Saxe, son of the beautiful Aurora, Countess of König-mark, resembled him in bodily strength, but surpassed him in mental powers. The countess was made Protestant Abbess of Quedlinburg, "for which post," says Uffenbach in his "Travels," "she was well suited by her imposing figure, but not by her morals." The most notorious of the king's mistresses, the Countess Cosel, had extracted from him 20,000,000 thalers; Frau von Spregel was less successful, she retired from favour on 100,000.

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[1] Polygamy seems to have been much affected by the Protestant princes of Germany, since, with Luther's consent, the Landgrave Philip had two wives at once. The Margrave Leopold Eberhardt of Würtemberg (the Mompelgard line) married three wives at once. Eberhardt Ludwig of Würtemberg had two. We shall meet with others

Augustus was as extravagant as he was debauched. The *fêtes* he gave cost vast sums, wrung from his groaning subjects. Mythological representations were performed on an immense scale. In Wackerbarth's biography, there is a description of a firework for which eighteen thousand trunks of trees were used, and of a gigantic allegorical picture which was painted upon six thousand ells of canvas. One festival alone cost 6,000,000 thalers. The Japanese palace contained Chinese porcelain to the amount of a million thalers. At Dresden a hall is still shown completely furnished with the ostrich and heron plumes used at these *fêtes*.[1] Luxury and a tasteless love of splendour were fostered by this unheard-of extravagance, and it was merely owing to a happy chance that the purchase of the Italian antiques and pictures, which laid the foundation of the magnificent Dresden gallery, flattered the pride of Augustus.

Charles William, Margrave of Baden, built Carlsruhe in the midst of forests, in 1715, in imitation of Versailles, where he revelled in Oriental luxury. Of the foulness of his court it is impossible to give a description. That of our Charles II. was decency and purity compared with it.

More brutal, and quite as sensual, was Eberhardt Ludwig, Duke of Würtemberg. Indeed, ever since the end of the fifteenth century, the princes of this little land, up to the first king, seem to have tried what their people could be brought to endure. They exterminated the nobility, and gave over the whole conduct of government into the hands of women or Jews. Eberhardt Ludwig, though already married, got an obsequious pastor to pronounce the nuptial benediction over him and Fräulein von Grävenitz, who thenceforth, till displaced by the younger and more beautiful Countess von Wittgenstein, governed Würtemburg. She made her brother Prime Minister, and sold all the offices about court and in the country. She obtained the commutation of punishments for money, mortgaged or sold the crown lands, and filled her coffers at the expense of the treasury of the duke. She even desired that her name should be inserted in the public prayers in Church along with that of the duke. "Madame," said a courageous pastor, "we mention you every day in the Lord's Prayer, when we say, 'Deliver us from Evil!'"

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[1] The gilding of a single gondola at a water *fête* cost 6000 thalers.

At a period of great famine the duke began the erection of a new palace, at immense expense, at Ludwigsburg. To pacify the people, at the foundation stone laying, he caused loaves of bread to be flung among them. Several people narrowly escaped being trampled to death in the scramble for food. "The princes of this house," says Scherr, "seem for a long time to have sought how far it was possible to carry licence and indecency."[1]

The courts of Ernest Augustus of Hanover and of Anthony Ulric of Brunswick were as infamous and oppressive.

Ernest Augustus built Montbrilland for one mistress, Frau von Kielmansegge, and the Fantaisie for the other, the Countess Platen. His son and successor, George I. of England, devoted himself entirely to the interests of Great Britain. But the absence of the prince afforded no alleviation of the popular burdens. The Electoral household, notwithstanding the unvarying absence of the Elector, remained on its former footing. The palace bore no appearance of being deserted; except the Elector himself, not a courtier, not a single gold-laced lacquey, was wanting to complete the court; the horses stamped in the stalls; the royal kitchen and cellars were kept well stocked. The courtiers resident in Hanover assembled every Sunday in the Electoral palace. In the hall of assembly stood an arm-chair, upon which the monarch's portrait was placed. Each courtier, on entering, bowed low to this portrait, and the whole assembly, as if awe-stricken by the presence of majesty, conversed in low tones for about an hour, when the banquet, a splendid repast prepared at the Elector's expense, was announced. In Hanover, as in nearly every little principality, the old nobility and gentry had been trodden out. "That was a curious state of morals and politics in Europe," says Mr. Thackeray in his lecture on George I.; "a queer consequence of the triumph of the monarchical principle. Feudalism was beaten down. The nobility, in its quarrels with the crown, had pretty well succumbed, and the monarch was all in all. He became almost divine: the proudest and the most ancient gentry of the land did menial service for him."

Every little prince—and there were hundreds of them—copied the great princes, who aped the court of France. Louis XIV. had created Versailles out of a sandy forest, as a palace for pleasure and court extravagance, away from the throng and eyes of Paris. All the great and little princes of Germany must do the same. Thus sprang up Carlsruhe, Mannheim, Potsdam, Darmstadt, Ludwigsburg, etc., towns away from the current of trade, living on the court, founded at enormous cost, and diverting commerce from its proper course.

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[1] Scherr: *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*, bk. iii. c. 2.

As the great princes lived in extravagance, so did the little ones. Carl Magnus, Count of Salm-Grumbach, must have his Versailles. He built a palace at Grehweiler in 1749, at the cost of 180,000 gulden. His annual income was only 60,000 gulden. He kept open table, gave magnificent festivals, was attended by lords and ladies in waiting, hussars, heyducks, Moors; had his court band and marionette theatre, and a bodyguard of six men in blue uniform with white facings and red collars. He had one drummer and one fifer to this regiment. Each soldier received four kreuzers per diem as his pay, and more kicks and cudgellings than kreuzers. In his stud were 120 horses. This extravagance could not last long; in 1768 his debts amounted to 300,000 gulden, and 22,000 gulden annual interest. At last his whole income was not equal to the interest on his debts. He had recourse to various expedients to prolong his reign of splendour. He mortgaged to the Count of Lemberg a forest of 500 acres, which had no existence. To pawn his villages he made school-children subscribe the names of their fathers, or wrote names himself of persons who did not exist, as bound with him to pay interest. At last the Emperor Joseph II. issued a commission to try him, and sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment for fraudulent transactions. When he issued from prison he was so reduced that he could keep but a single horse, and when his one attendant came to him to say that there was no hay in the loft, and the count had no money in his purse to buy any, "Well, well!" said he; "take the horse out and give it a mouthful of fresh air."

The follies and extravagance of almost all the little counts and princes claiming sovereignty are incredible. A Count of Limburg-Styrum kept a corps of hussars, which consisted of one colonel, six officers, and two privates. There were privy councillors attached to the smallest barony, and in Franconia and Swabia the petty lords had their private gallows, the symbol of sovereign jurisdiction. They nominated to incumbencies the pastors who obliged them by marrying their cast-off mistresses. In 1746 the consistory of Hildburghausen required every presentee to a living to swear that he had not obtained the cure of souls by this means.

Count William of Bückeburg, a man "with the finest Greek soul in a rude Westphalian body," as Moses Mendelssohn describes him in 1765, created the citadel of Wilhelmsburg on an artificial island in the Steinhudermeer. It was elaborately and scientifically engineered, and strongly garrisoned with 300 gunners. His infantry numbered 1000 men. The fortress defended nothing but a potato and cabbage garden, and an observatory with an inferior telescope in it.

Moses Mendelssohn visited the count at Pyrmont. They walked side by side talking. Presently they came to a ditch: the count strode over it, and continued talking. After a while he perceived he was alone, and looking back saw the little Jew hovering on the further side of the ditch, unable to leap it. The count returned, tucked Mendelssohn under his arm, strode over the ditch, set him down, and continued the conversation.

The count was fond of taking an air bath every morning. For this object he walked in his walled garden, wearing only his pigtail and boots, but armed with a Brazilian blow-pipe for bringing down sparrows. One day, whilst thus invigorating himself, inhaling ozone at every pore, like Adam, he saw a cock seated on the wall of his Paradise. He discharged a dart, and the bird fell into the adjoining precincts. With his natural activity, he escaladed the barrier and alighted in the neighbouring garden, where a party of ladies and gentlemen were breakfasting *al fresco*. The prince, no way discomposed, bowed, apologised for his intrusion, went after the bird, picked it up, and clambered over the wall again.

Count Frederick of Salm-Kyrburg swindled the churches in his principality out of their money to maintain his extravagance. When plunged in debt, he maintained his old show. At table every day eighty dishes were served, but of these only two or three were edible. His guests gulped down as best they might what was set before them.

The house of Schwarzburg is of old Thuringian origin. It has two principal possessions, Sondershausen and Rudolstadt, which have gone to two branches, that of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen and that of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.

Schwarzburg-Sondershausen has a superficial extent of 15·65 geographical square miles, and in 1875 had 67,480 inhabitants. Christian Günther III. reigned in this little principality from 1758–1794. He kept a splendid court, gave grand masquerades, and kept up rigid etiquette; whilst the Jew Herz, his factotum, sold offices about court and in the land, and the capital Sondershausen swarmed with parasites.

A little while before the outbreak of the French Revolution, in the summer of 1789, the Hamburg tourist, Ludwig von Hess, visited Sondershausen, and described what he saw.

"The little princely capital of Sondershausen is pleasantly situated on the Wipper, in a long narrow plain, girt in on both sides by lofty hills as by walls. When one arrives from the north, and looks down on it, the appearance of the valley is like that of a calm broad river, in the midst of which stands, as an island, the little town. The effect is enchanting. But the town has the look of being a mere appendage to the palace which rises above it in pre-eminent dignity.

"This palace contains 350 rooms, of which the reigning prince has built the greater part. One may be pretty sure that a little prince when he lacks originality will imitate another who lives on a larger scale. This prince makes the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (Frederick II.) his model, at least in his passion for building. He would copy him also in his military pretensions, were the land large enough to allow him to enrol an army. However, Prince Günther has one original feature in him, he is passionately addicted to clocks. The greatest adornment of the 350 rooms consists of clocks of all sizes and sorts, some large, some diminutive, some that strike, some that cuckoo, some that are repeaters, and others that play tunes. Some have cost him 600 thalers, most, however, much less. He has not made one himself, though fond of mechanics, but he occupies himself and all his family in polishing madrepores.

"Since he has taken to building he has made himself as popular as any German prince; for, instead of going about nagging at the masons for not working faster, he button-holes them, and draws them off by the hour from their task, that he may twaddle and joke with them. He has given up hunting, keeps no more dogs, and only seventy-one horses, which he rarely uses. But he takes plenty of exercise nevertheless, for he allows no one but himself to wind up his innumerable clocks. His taste in mistresses is not as original as his fancy for clocks. In this particular he follows his great examplar, but with more patriotism, for he has chosen one of his subjects, the daughter of a guardsman, a pretty enough girl, but horribly stupid, called Hannchen Männchen. She is too stupid to have any political or courtly influence. She lives in the castle in rooms adjoining the princesses, and is on the most familiar terms with them. They 'thee and thou' her affectionately. Prince Günther had three sons and three daughters by his wife Charlotte of Anhalt-Bernburg, who died in 1777. The princesses are amiable creatures, but unfortunately they were over-nursed as babies. Consequently the two eldest are crooked, and the youngest only, who is supposed to be a beauty, is straight. Their characters are irreproachable. Worldly pleasures, masquerades, and the like, do not prevent the princesses from harbouring *ennui;* the traces in crow's feet are apparent on their faces. But to smooth these away and relieve the tedium, the rector Bötticher calls daily, and spends three hours with them lecturing on religion and history. He has written a book called 'The Agreeable Month.' I have not read it; the German public has forgotten it; but it may still, perhaps, be found in Sondershausen. In the capital lives Wetzel, author of 'Wilhelmine Arend, or the Triumph of Sensitiveness,' and other books of the sort. Poor Wetzel has lost his senses in the composition of his last work, 'On the Human Soul.' His father is dead, but his mother lives still in Sondershausen. From early childhood he was so detached in ideas and feelings from his parents that he came to suppose himself not to be their child, but an adopted one. He went about Germany studying men and manners. His mother wished much to make a home for him, and wrote to him to that effect. His last letter to her was from Vienna. He answered her harshly, that she was not, could not be his mother, for how could such a commonplace person as she produce such a genius as himself. Now that he is back, and half demented, in Sondershausen, she supports him with the work of her hands. He lives alone, and takes only weak coffee and boiled potatoes.

"The court take no more notice of him than to nickname him the 'overwrought savant.' The prince and Hannchen Männchen have no conception how it is possible that a man can lose his wits. They bless God they have no wits to lose. They never read anything; and Wetzel would starve under the palace walls if his old mother did not take him his potatoes daily.

"But Wetzel is not the only example in Sondershausen of the vanity of human greatness. Not far from him wastes in seclusion the brother of the sovereign, Prince Augustus, who lives in a long wing of the palace very much like a gymnasium. As Wetzel sways between philanthropy and misanthropy, so does the prince oscillate between want of necessaries and want of credit. His whole annuity or allowance amounts to 10,000 thalers,[1] and in a capital where every winter there are twenty masked balls, and at each of which he must appear in a new and suitable costume, this sum is very little. Prince Augustus therefore spends his time, when not engaged in these royal festivities, in concocting pathetic begging letters to his brother. The sovereign is so accustomed to receive these, that they all remain without effect. Prince Augustus achieved one good stroke in marrying a princess of Bernburg, who brought him as dower 100,000 thalers. He rollicked over this newly acquired treasure but a very few hours, when, to his unspeakable dismay, his creditors swooped down on it, and carried off the whole sum to the last farthing. In this situation Prince Augustus mourns out his hopeless existence.

"One may see from the conduct of the prince towards his brother, and from the efforts he makes to snip the wings of his extravagant heir, that he is not open-handed. His revenues amount to about 200,000 thalers;[2] of these he spends some 50,000 in and about Sondershausen. His ancestors, after the fashion of little princes, left the State with a debt on it, but this he is clearing off. His army consists of 150 infantry soldiers and 28 guards on horseback, fine men, in good uniforms. The military like their sovereign, but the citizens and peasants are very lukewarm in their praises. Solomon says that a good king must rise early. So does the prince of Sondershausen. His first morning duty is to go into

[1] 1500*l.* [2] 300,00*l.*

the stables and see after his horses. Then he walks in his garden, or looks at the buildings, winds up his clocks, and so the morning passes to dinner-time. After dinner he attends to the affairs of State, assisted by his chancellor, who draws a pay of 2000 thalers (300*l.*), and four assessors, with a salary of 400 thalers (60*l.*) each. His chancellor is Privy Councillor von Hopfgarten, who owns Schlotheim. He and the sovereign are the only rich persons in the land, and have so managed matters between them, that no private individuals who have scraped together a few thalers can invest them in anything bringing in more than four per cent.

"The Prince of Sondershausen prefers living at Ebleben to the Residence, and spends there the greater part of the summer. The most remarkable thing at Ebleben is the palace garden. I never in my life saw such specimens of hideous taste, and I hope never to see the like again. The entire garden is strewn with statues, or rather with wooden monstrosities which are painted grey with oil-colours, to make them look like stone. Everything is common, vulgar, debased, without the smallest token of taste or dignity. On entering the palace garden one is distracted between laughter and dismay at seeing two wood-stone soldiers set up presenting arms, one on each side of the entrance. They are gaunt figures, with pigtails, caps, and cockades, stiff as pokers. And as they are erected on tall pedestals they look like giants. More absurd still are two basins paved with smooth stones, never, however, filled with any other water than rain. In the midst of these basins are set up gawky horses galloping at full speed, with postilions on their backs wearing little hats, cockades, flying jackets, tall boots, and protruding pigtails. Each is represented blowing his horn. Beside each runs a little panting dog, and behind stands a tree painted white, with the traces of green paint still adhering to the leaves.

"The crown prince lives a German mile out of Sondershausen, in the forest, and, after his father's fashion, had a mistress, a butcher's daughter. She was unlike Hannchen Männchen, for she was ugly, and had some sense in her head. The heir to the throne lived fast, and involved himself in debts. His economical father allowed him eight horses, and he kept over thirty." This prince, also called Günther, succeeded his father in 1794, and reigned till 1835. He married his cousin Caroline of Rudolstadt.

After the birth of a crown prince in 1801, she separated from her husband, and retired to her parents' court at Rudolstadt.

Prince Günther ruled his little realm like an emperor. The inhabitants numbered then 60,000. He had a multitude of officials, and published his court calendar with the list of them all, and their order of precedence. The principal offices were filled by his natural children, of whom there were plenty. He was fond of music and the drama. At the theatre he sat in the royal box smoking a long pipe, and every one was allowed to smoke in the court theatre. Travellers, passing through Sondershausen, were invited by the prince to the performances. The "Traveller's Book" at the Eagle went up to the palace, and the prince sent his red liveried heyducks to invite the visitor to the play. In the theatre he made the stranger sit with him in his box, and provided him with a clay pipe and tobacco. On one occasion a Prussian major, who was at Sondershausen, was thus sitting with the Prince, whilst Kotzebue's dull play of "Bayard" was being performed. "How do you like it?" asked the prince. "Surpassing well, your serene highness," answered the major courteously; "I should be sorry not to have a chance of seeing the piece again." The prince waited till the play was concluded, but then, before the curtain fell, he shouted from his box, "Hey! hey there! Here's a Prussian major wants to see the play again. So act it through once more." And the performers were forced to repeat the whole drama.

The park to the palace was thrown open to the public, and the court band performed in it on Sunday and festival evenings. The court kitchen and pastry-cooks, at the prince's orders, supplied refreshments to the troops of townspeople who assembled in it; and his serene highness himself rambled about in the dusk, flirting with the prettiest girls, and initiating the intrigues which supplied his offices with officials.

The prince was a good wrestler, and could generally throw his man, and he was proud of exhibiting his dexterity before his subjects. But one day he met with his match, a stout country farmer, who flung his serene highness. The prince, sprawling on the ground, swore he had slipped on a cherry-stone, forgetting that it was not the time of the year for cherries. He picked himself up, and doubling his fists flew on the farmer in a frenzy of disappointed vanity. The bystanders forming the ring in vain urged the bauer to allow himself to be tripped up by his serene highness; the countryman had no notion of the exigencies of court complaisance, and gave the prince fisticuffs in return. The combat became furious; at last his serene highness, whose nose was bleeding and his eye blackened, disengaged himself and screamed, "Hold! A fortnight in prison!" and the guards marched the unyielding bauer off to the lock-up.

In 1835 Prince Günther was deposed, and his son elevated to the throne. This was effected by a revolution managed by Privy Councillor von Ziegeler, who got it up after the fashion of a St. Petersburg palace revolution, only on a very diminutive scale. In the scare he signed a resignation of the crown, and was sent to his hunting lodge of Possen. As he found himself there treated much like a prisoner, he tried to escape to King Frederick William III. of Prussia, but his plan was discovered, and he was kept ever after under surveillance. He spent the rest of his time playing skittles, or looking after his horses, and died in 1837.

Ludwig Günther, Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, had almost as eccentric a peculiarity as Christian Günther of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen. He was passionately fond of painting the portraits of horses. At the present day 246 such portraits remain, the produce of his industry, adorning the walls of the palace of Schwarzburg. He died 1790. His court was more simple than that of Sondershausen, and much more respectable. He succeeded to the sovereignty because his elder brother had married a stable-keeper's daughter in Leipzig, and though she was ennobled, yet her sons were obliged to bear her name, and were excluded from succession, as being morganatically born.

The court of Nassau-Usingen was decorous and simple, a pleasant contrast to most of the others. A traveller in Bernouilli's Collection was at Biberich in 1780, five years after Prince Carl Wilhelm had succeeded to the sovereignty. "Hospitality," he says, "was at this court as great as visitors were numerous. Every stranger who was provided with references was received with the utmost kindness, and was allowed to appear there every day, uninvited and unannounced.

"We found the prince in his garden when we came to Biberich. He was surrounded by gentlemen. He is a man of middle stature, well developed, and with kindness of heart and love to mankind beaming out of his intelligent face. His neat dress shows him to be a man who does not think men are to be blinded by display, like children and fools. He speaks little, seems to love solitude rather than a crowd, and attracts every one to him by his gentle, courteous manner. We soon sought the society of the ladies; amongst these were the sovereign princess, and the two princesses, a Countess of Leiningen (sister of the prince), and a Countess of Guntersblum and her daughter. We went to table in the great round hall lighted from the cupola above. The effect is striking. Above is Jupiter on his eagle, and around him are the gods and goddesses. A balcony overhangs the Rhine. Every one sat by the lady he had taken in. I was next to one of the young princesses. Sociality, cheerfulness, and buoyancy of conversation, such as are generally far from the tables of princes, were present here. Every eye was not held spell-bound on the presence of one. Each spoke as he liked, and let his wit run with him where he listed, and, what is not universal, was able to eat till he had satisfied his hunger.

" After dinner, which scarcely lasted an hour, we went into the gallery adjoining, lighted on one side, with scenes from Virgil and Homer painted on the other. Here we drank coffee, read newspapers, amused ourselves, and then rambled about the garden. There was no gambling. All amusements were simple and countrified. The ladies were not ashamed to devote their hands to something better than card-playing; they read, and their minds were cultivated. As may well be imagined, every beautiful summer evening draws the company out into the garden or down to the banks of the Rhine, and the fresh lovely nature contributes a cheerfulness which is sought in vain in the gorgeous halls of other princes.

" The two princesses, the elder aged seventeen and the younger sixteen,[1] are so good, gentle, and natural, that there is nothing of the stiffness of a court about them. There is something unspeakably attractive in their appearance, which makes one forget they are not also beautiful. Of pretension, of pride, there is not a trace in them. The happy blending of frankness with shyness

[1] Caroline, born 1762, married Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel in 1786; Louise, born 1763, never married.

makes their society especially agreeable. They are well-grown, and their dress is simple but in good taste.

"Among other estimable acquaintances that I made at Biberich, was that of the Crown Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück. This charming young gentleman is well educated, and attracts every one's respect and love by his courtesy. His lively temperament is kept under wonderful control for a lad of *eleven* years. He is colonel in the French service, and bridegroom of the Princess of Montbarry, who is seven years his senior. The betrothal took place on October 6, 1779, when the prince was eleven and the princess eighteen. The young husband after that went to the University of Göttingen."

The "Memoirs" of the Baroness Oberkirch, who was present at this marriage, give us some particulars of it. She says, "The reigning Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück gave a magnificent *fête* on the event of the marriage in the Castle of Reichshofen, near Hagenau, belonging to a Herr von Dietrich. All the world was invited—all the neighbouring courts. Everthing was in the most splendid style. Chases, *fêtes*, promenades lasted three days. During the ball there was no getting the bridegroom to dance with the bride; at last he was threatened with a whipping unless he did so, and promised a heap of sugar-plums if he consented. Then he led her through a minuette. He showed great aversion to his bride, but the greatest attention to the little Louise von Dietrich, a child of his own age, and sat himself down beside her the moment the tedious performance with the bride was over. My brother showed him a picture-book to pacify him, but in the book was a wedding. The moment the prince saw this, he closed the book in a huff, and exclaimed at the top of his voice, 'Take it away, take the nasty book away, that is too horrible! A wedding! I don't want to hear of any more weddings. But look here,' he continued, 'here is a great long gawky just like Mademoiselle de Montbarry!' and he pointed to a figure in the book."

The Nassau-Usingen and Nassau-Saarbrücken courts were strongly influenced by France, and the refinement they showed was due to their relations with the more polished Gallic nation. Court life in Vienna under Joseph II. was also very different. This noble emperor, a worthy son of a great and good mother, devoted his whole life to the service of the State, and had no time for the indulgence of fancies. He never gambled. On the occasion of a visit to Versailles he declined to take a hand at cards. "A prince who loses," he said, "loses the money of his subjects." Joseph had no mistresses. When he lost his dearly loved wife, Isabella of Parma, he sought and found consolation in a marriage with Josephine of Bavaria, and the society of amiable ladies of the highest class. If his regard for these seemed sometimes to exceed the limits of friendship, it never led him to transgress those of morality. He was not a drinker or a gourmand, nor a cynic in dress like Frederick of Prussia When not in the uniform of his regiment, he wore a plain coat of dark colour. The court of the Empress, Maria Theresa, had cost six millions of gulden, that of Joseph II. cost only half a million. He loved music, especially German music, and played the violoncello. He highly esteemed Mozart, who composed in his reign. The haste with which his sanguine choleric temperament made him carry out his plans of reformation frustrated their utility; and Frederick was right when he said that Joseph always took the second step before he made the first. But his intention was right and pure, his desire for the education and improvement of his people was sincere; and he succeeded in divorcing Austria from Spanish formalism, and accommodating it to modern times. In 1787 he wrote to Dalberg: "I gladly receive your communications as to the means of benefiting our common fatherland, Germany; for I love it, and am proud to be able to call myself a German."

But the moment we turn our eyes into the heart of Germany, we find rough manners, extravagance, and disorder.

Leopold, "the old Dessauer" of Frederick the Great, was prince of Anhalt-Dessau. The tradition of the house is that it was descended from a bear, and certainly it has done much to show the world that bearishness runs in its illustrious blood. Leopold was attached from boyhood to Anna Lise, daughter of an apothecary named Föhse, at Dessau. One day, as he passed down the street, he saw her at her window with a man speaking to her in a familiar manner. Prince Leopold rushed upstairs in ungovernable fury, and ran him through the body. Then, when too late, he learned that the person he had transfixed was a doctor, and cousin of the damsel. He married her, and the emperor created her a princess in her own right, so as to legitimatise her offspring.

The marriage was a happy one; she bore him ten children, and died two years before the prince. When the news of her decease reached him he was in the field at Neisse, in Silesia. He was inconsolable, and communicated their loss to his sons, who were with him in camp, in the following laconic speech: "Curse it, boys, the Devil has carried off your mother."

Prince Eugene was wont to call him the "Bulldog," and he was proud of the designation. He served in the Prussian army under Frederick I., Frederick William I., and Frederick the Great, and it was he who gave the Prussian infantry its organisation. He was in twenty-two battles and twenty-seven sieges, and only once was grazed by a ball, consequently the soldiers regarded him as invulnerable. Pöllnitzen's "Memoirs" thus describe him: "The Prince of Anhalt-Dessau was well built. His whole bearing, face, dress, everything about him bespoke the soldier, but also the oddity. He was active, and unwearied in work. Heat and cold, want and superfluity, seemed not to affect him. He was brave to temerity, in discipline most harsh, but he loved the soldiers, rewarded them, and associated familiarly with them. He was a warm and true friend, but an implacable enemy; easily won, he was obstinate to pig-headedness in his fancies. Little accustomed in his youth to moderation, for a long time he was dissolute and savage. He cared nothing for the pomp of a court, and in his manners he little regarded proprieties, and his mode of life was in little accord with his position. A lover of supreme power, he would like to have enslaved the whole world under himself. Strangely enough he disliked learning so much that he would not allow his princes to have a tutor, as he said he wanted them to make themselves and not be manufactured by others." On his Italian journey when young he was attended by a French chamberlain, M. de Chalesac. At Venice one night the prince returned to his hotel drunk, and was reproached by de Chalesac. The prince seized a pair of pistols, levelled them at his chamberlain's head, and roared, "You dog, I must positively kill you." "You may do so, your serene highness," said the courtier, "but it will have an ugly look in history." The prince thought a moment, laid down the pistols, and said, "Yes, you are right, it would not read respectably."

One day in church the preacher gave out the first verse of a hymn:

Neither hunger nor thirst,
  Nor want nor pain,
Nor wrath of the Great Prince
  Can me restrain.

Prince Leopold thinking he was alluded to, grasped his walking stick, and made a rush at the pulpit, to thrash the pastor for his insolence. The minister screamed to him, "Sire! I mean Beelzebub, Beelzebub, not your highness!" and scarce pacified the furious prince, and saved his own hide.

His piety had its peculiar colour. Before the battle of Kesselsdorf he prayed, "Dear God, graciously assist me this day. But if you won't, why then, for goodness' sake, don't help these blackguards, my enemies; but stand quietly by, look on, and don't meddle. I will manage them."

His daughter Louise was married to the reigning Prince Frederick of Bernburg. While Prince Leopold was in Halle with his regiment, he received news that she was at the point of death. He at once marched from Halle to Bernburg at the head of his troops to do military honours to her departure, and going into the castle garden he knelt down, and with tears in his eyes prayed, "Lord God! I haven't asked you a single thing for an age. And I won't bother you any more if you will only restore my daughter to health now." However, she did not recover, but died in the flower of her age, 1732. The Dessauer's favourite song was Luther's "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott;" which he called "Our Lord God's dragoon march." He only knew or cared for one tune, the Dessauer March, and he thundered Luther's hymn, and all other psalms, in the church to the same tune. Oelsner wrote to Varnhagen, "This savage is like Peter the Great, he has a mixture of simple common sense and humanity along with his barbarism. On one of his campaigns he came to Lomnitz, a village in Silesia, of which my maternal grandfather was lord. He asked for a guide, and was given a swineherd. The prince ordered the man to step into his carriage. The poor fellow felt not a little frightened before the fire-eater, and when doing so did not venture to put his feet inside. After a moment the Dessauer exclaimed, 'Pigherd, draw in your paws; do you think mine are made of almond cake?'"

In addition to the Protestant main line of the House of Hohen zollern which occupies the throne of Prussia, and which was Calvinist, there are two Lutheran lines, those of Baireuth and of Anspach, founded by the Elector John George, who died in 1598. George William, Margrave of Baireuth, was born in 1678, and married Sophia of Saxe-Weissenfels, when she was only just fifteen; a princess of extraordinary beauty but of infamous morals. George William of Baireuth and Sophia exhibited German court life in the eighteenth century in its full extravagance. The hermitage of Baireuth, afterwards so admired and extolled by Jean Paul, and still an object of curiosity to the visitor, was erected by the Margrave in 1715. It lies about three miles from Baireuth. It is said to have cost 2,000,000 gulden. The Temple of the Sun in it, an imitation in miniature of St. Peter's Church at Rome, alone cost 100,000 gulden.

The hermitage has a *château*, with gardens, and a beautiful park. In the latter, which goes down to the Main, were erected a multitude of pavilions, without external symmetry, the cells of the hermits looking outside like piles of timber, but comfortably and even luxuriously fitted up within. The Margrave was superior, and his wife mistress of the order. When they arrived at the hermitage, all the members of the society appeared in their habits. At fixed hours the brothers and sisters paid each other visits in their several cells, and were given collations. The order was subject to rules from which none were dispensed without the permission of the grand master or mistress. In the evening they all assembled in the hall of the castle or Temple of the Sun for supper. This latter was fantastically decorated with rock crystals, shells, and coloured stones. At meal time a brother hermit read a verse or a tale he had composed; and when this was concluded, all broke out into comment and jest. A ball concluded the entertainment. No one could enter the order who had not been elected by the chapter.

Part of the *château* of the hermitage was furnished in Chinese fashion. The pillars of the Temple of the Sun were of striped foreign marbles. Everywhere in the alleys of the park were ruined castles. On one occasion an artificial ruin actually tumbled down on some people and buried them alive. In a bower was the marble monument of the dog of the Margravine, in such bad taste that Count Putbus remarked of it, "Tombeau de chien, chien de tombeau." The Margravine of Baireuth, the favourite sister of

Frederick the Great, and the wife of George William's successor, has left us in her "Memoirs" a lively but revolting picture of the society in this court. The Margravine Sophia carried her gallantries to such a pass of shamelessness, that the Margrave was at length obliged to consign her to prison in the Plassenburg. The Duchess of Orleans says in one of her letters, dated May 8, 1721: "The Margrave of Baireuth and his wife are a crazy pair. *L'esprit de vertige* reigns in this court and in the hermitage. It is no wonder that misery abounds in the principality, when the sovereign of the land cares nothing for his duties, and has no regard for justice. If they have any fear of God, then, verily, they are fools in folio, and know not what they do." The Margravine Wilhelmina thus describes the Margravine Sophia:—"In her youth she was lovely as an angel, but she never lived happily with her husband. She may be numbered with the famed women of antiquity, for she was in her morals the Laïs of her age. No one attributed to her great good sense. When I saw her in 1732, she was aged forty-eight; she was stout and well-shaped, her face rather long, as was also her nose, which, however, disfigured her, for it was red as a cherry; her brown eyes, with which she was wont to lay down the law, were well formed but dull, with no more sparkle in them. Her eyebrows were coal black—but then they were false. Her mouth, though large, was yet well moulded and full of charm; she had teeth white as ivory and like a row of pearls; but her skin, though clean, was quite withered. Consequently she looked like an old worn-out theatrical *prima donna*, and her manner gave one the same impression. Yet in spite of all, she was still a handsome woman." Of the crimes of this infamous woman, the gossiping Margravine Wilhelmina has plenty to say, but they cannot be told here.

After the death of the Margrave (1726) she was released from prison. She married, when she was fifty years old, Count Albert of Hoditz, a Moravian nobleman, who was twenty two years her junior. "As long as she had a halfpenny in her purse," writes the Margravine, "her husband flattered her. She had to sell all her clothes to meet his exactions, and then he deserted her, leaving her in the direst poverty." She lived in Vienna generally despised, and in want of the necessaries of life, upon the alms flung her by the nobility, and there she died in 1750.

The other Lutheran branch of the Hohenzollerns was that of Anspach. Charles William Frederick became Margrave in 1729. He was feared as a madman and a tyrant. In a fit of rage he shot one of his huntsmen because he thought he had neglected the dogs. A militia man was keeping guard before his palace. The Margrave demanded his gun of him, and the man surrendered it out of respect for his prince. The Margrave at once declared him unworthy of bearing arms, had him bound to the tail of a horse, and dragged about in the mud. The poor wretch received such injuries that he died of them two months after. He intrusted the administration of government to the family of Seckendorf, and gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase and the society of two mistresses. He was for some time completely guided by a Jew, named Isaac Nathan, who practised financial swindling. The little Margrave, wishing to bestow a great honour on the great King of England, sent him the Red Order of the Eagle set with brilliants. The Jew, Ischerlein, who had an understanding with Nathan, received the commission, and put paste in the place of diamonds. King George at once detected that the brilliants were false, and took no notice of the present. An inquiry was set on foot and the imposition was discovered. The Margrave instantly sent for the Jew and for a headsman; Ischerlein was bound down to a chair, but no sooner did he see the executioner, than, springing up, he ran, with the chair adhering to him, round the long table occupying the middle of the hall, pursued by the headsman, till the latter, encouraged by the Margrave, struck off his head across the table. Nor did Nathan escape the Margrave's wrath; he was closely imprisoned, deprived of the whole of his ill-gotten wealth, and in 1740 expelled the country. The Margrave was passionately and extravagantly attached to the chase. He had forty-seven officers and functionaries attached to his falconry alone. When he was buried, a crowd of people attended the funeral procession with growls of satisfaction. He died of apoplexy brought on by a fit of passion.

I have given but a few examples of what the German courts were in the eighteenth century These be thy Gods, O Israel! It was these which set the example to the citizens. These were the nurseries and representative spots of culture! They were rather open sores, from which the resources of the land drained away;

cesspools infecting the neighbourhood. In France there was but one court—one Versailles; in Germany there were over a hundred. In the dissolute court of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. vice was at least given a gloss and delicate colour. In England it was veiled with some respect for decency. But in Germany vice was gross and nude. Extravagance had been borrowed from France, but not refinement.

In the history of culture, these little territories, with their courts aping those of great sovereigns, were back-waters. *Kleinstädterei*, as the niggling government of petty princes is called, with its consequent narrow views and interests, place-hunting, and stagnation of culture, has been the bane of Germany. "Till recently," writes Dr. Vehse, "as long as the censorship of the press existed, little or no details of the various maladministrations could come out; of late, however, many voices have been raised by trustworthy men, who have drawn the worst scandals to the light, and have shown what has been going on in the various parts of Germany. I allude only to what Riehl has disclosed concerning Nassau, Dr. Habech has said of Dessau, Dr. Fischer of Detmold. If all the little German States have not borne as grotesquely barbarous a political character, and one so degraded in culture, as Mecklenburg, for instance, yet in every one wretchedness is manifest to the full. With the sole exceptions of Oldenburg and Reuss all the little German States have been for long misgoverned, and the results are only too painfully apparent to the present day. As regards the mediatised principalities, there are few families which can show such clean hands as the Protestant house of Stolberg-Wernigerode and the Catholic house of Fugger." [1]

One main root of the evil that throve in the little States was cliquedom. On this cancer, which still gnaws at the vitals of the small States, and demoralises the whole constitution of society in them, nothing can be quoted more to the purpose than the "Confessions of Forty Years in the Life of a Physician," which appeared at Leipzig in 1854.[2] It is now no secret that the description is of Brunswick under Duke Frederick Augustus William Charles, who died at Geneva in 1874; and that the writer was Dr. Lange, the court physician. On the appearance of the "Memoirs," Dr. Klencke, who had been a personal friend of Dr. Lange, and who was supposed to have had a hand in giving the book to the world, was suddenly banished Brunswick. But though the description is that of one little capital, it may be said to apply to all alike, as far as it delineates the mode of administration, the cliquedom, and the pettiness of these little principalities.

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[1] Vehse: *Geschichte der Deutschen Höfe*, vol. xl. pp. 163–4.

[2] *Selbstbekenntnisse: oder vierzig Jahre a. d. Leben d. oft-genannten Arztes*, Leipz. 1st ed. 1854; 2nd, 1855.

"It is easy to decide the inner character of a town at the first glance, even without having seen the inhabitants. On entering the capital in which I had to live, I saw at once, from the nature of the houses and streets, that here a *Kleinstädtlichen* tone must prevail. The streets wound about irregularly, and were of unequal width; the houses, mostly of timber and plaster, with old carved beam-ends and Gothic dates, resembled a range of giants and dwarfs, the chimney of one house often on a level with the first story of the neighbour. In all the open spaces stood farmers' carts like barricades, without horses or driver; the pavements were swarming with children; human heads were at all the windows; gaping, gossiping, or smoking people stood at every door. One could see into the ground-floor rooms. The soap-boilers had their horn lanterns; the linen-weavers had hung their linen to dry on lines in front of their houses; the smiths and coopers worked in the street before their doors; cattle were driven up and down, in and out. Every cart that passed drew peering faces to the windows, thick as tame trout rising to the surface for crumbs. In many houses the owner lived on the ground floor, and all the upper rooms were uninhabited. Only near the princely palace were there handsome modern houses, showing that there lived the dignitaries of the town. The external appearance of the place is typical of all little capitals.[1] Count K—— explained a good deal of this to me. Court life, said he, does not exist here. The gentry are without estates, the bauers burdened with debt; the State receipts are small, and the fancy of the prince to have many soldiers runs away with so much money that there is little polite life possible. The highest civil officers affect no luxury; the shopkeeper and the trading citizens are those most well-to-do, and give the tone to society. Though they may live in tumble-down houses, they keep their carriages and horses, have plenty of money, and give large parties. Consequently money is the supreme qualification of man. Every one is valued by what capital he has in the bank or in business. For this reason the gentry marry into citizen families, the destitute aristocracy here form no class to themselves. The military form the first rank among the subjects.[1]

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[1] Does not this description recall at once a score to the recollection of the traveller! Donaueschingen, Aschaffenburg, Sondershausen, Köthen, Dessau, etc.

"The small States are the haunts of egoism and cliquedom. In a small state and a capital, which veils its *Kleinstädterei* under an appearance of high life, where Philistinism struts about in Paris fashions and with Berlin airs, it is much harder for an independent man with self-respect to maintain his place than in petty life which does not affect to be anything but Philistinism. In a large town men stand more apart, and a thousand different interests cross one another, and families shift, influences are always changing, and stiff old-fashioned formality or vulgarity is broken or softened by foreign intercourse. The gay stream of manners and customs among other nations rolls in, and overflows the old grit and mud of aegs; social life receives an infusion of new life which refines it of its coarseness. But in a provincial and residential capital, all meanness, and commonness, and coarseness are ossified and made part and parcel of society and family life. Old prejudices are intensified and take firmer root, and throw up fresh suckers on all sides, making a thick undergrowth of barbarism from which there is no escape. Every man imbibes these sordid peculiarities in early life like a sponge, squeeze him, and all life long nothing else distils from him but pettinesses and vulgarities. The wretchedness of cliquedom throws its roots through the whole country, and scatters its noxious seeds wherever there is soil where it can be propagated. The egoism of one, which in a great town is kept in check by the egoism of others, in a little town is converted into family self-seeking. All princely residence towns in small territories are alike in this.

"I soon made the experience that the sovereign did not rule the land, except in name; a citizen dynasty had arrived at unlimited sovereignty, and occupied not only all city offices, with its relatives and kinsmen, but, with the exception of the ministry, had in its hands every office and profession of every sort. The prince was a soldier, he went about always in the uniform of his regiment of cavalry, which was his pet creation and toy. He stood quite apart from the civil life of his land, and ordered just what he was recommended or told to do, without looking into anything. The ruling dynasty thrust its people everywhere into the most influential and lucrative situations, till every bureau and green table was surrounded or occupied by blood relations playing into each other's hands.

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[1] This is now universal, as will be seen by what has been said in Chap. II. The nobility have no position at court, apart from that they can claim on their military grade.

"The external form of government was maintained, but no one regarded what was legal. Every petty official did what was right in his own eyes; the superior officials looked another way, as they all acted on the principle of mutual accommodation. The reigning citizen dynasty, with the full power of wide-extending, all-embracing nepotism, stood above law. All conscientious discharge of duties in office was looked on with disapproval; an official who was vexatiously honest was got rid of by the ruling coterie.

"Such family lordship over a land is only possible in a little State. But although it is a feature of small principalities that they should fall a prey to cliquedom, and remain for a long time in the hands of a family of toadies, yet it is also a feature of them that the sovereign power should now and then break loose, and exert itself in a dictatorial and absolute manner.

"The prince lived without a family, in knightly bachelorhood, without ever coming in contact with the softening influence of noble women. His associates were only officers, horses, dogs, and guns. Separated early from the wife who had been diplomatically united to him, he had acquired no respect for women. All he regarded in the other sex was their external graces. His chivalry, and the proud sense of personal honour attached to it, served his subjects as a guarantee that he would behave uprightly and justly in his dealings with them. Such was the opinion of the educated. But this very chivalry and high sense of honour separated the prince entirely from his people, in whom he seemed to have no interest, for he never troubled himself to inquire into their affairs, and gave over the management of the State into the hands of those men who were recommended to him by his surrounding officials, and devoted his whole attention to military drill and discipline.

"I had already learned from Count K—— that the prince had no taste for literature and art; that he only patronised the theatre as a pastime, and that he regarded no man of science as presentable at his court. Every sub-lieutenant of nineteen took precedence over the worthiest professor and councillor.

"What I had already been told of the character of the prince relieved the impression made on me by my first reception. Stepping out of a crowd of adjutants, he received me, listened to my thanks for his invitation to be the town physician with proud, cold manner, looked at me for some time without speaking, and then, without the least departure from his military bearing, said: 'Acting on distinguished representations, I have taken the exceptional step of summoning you to my residence. I expect of you pre-eminent efforts and paramount discharge of your duties. I remain yours.' Then, with a wave of the hand, he dismissed me. He expected no answer from me, but returned to his adjutants. No sooner was I back in the palace square than the prince passed me, galloping off surrounded by his circle of officers.

"The prince detested all petitions and appeals. He wanted to know nothing about what went on in the country or the town, and it almost seemed as if he were ashamed in his pride of the little ancestral land; at all events, he spent the greater part of the year away from it, and wore the uniform of a general of the Hanoverian army. Any one who did not wish to fall into disfavour avoided troubling him with affairs of state. He was wont to rudely refer those who mentioned such matters back to his boards of officials, and to order that the person who had so annoyed him should be denied further access to his person. Count K—— told me that I only got my appointment through the direct expression of the will of the prince and a fortunate combination of circumstances which prevented the reigning coterie filling the vacancy with one of their own people.

"The prince was a decided foe to all religious straitness spiritual despotism, and mystic fanaticism. A tutor of his youth had sufficiently indoctrinated him with rationalism for him not to tolerate anything of this sort. There were no Sabbath restrictions in the capital; the pastors were to be seen on Sundays playing cards in the taverns or drinking deep in clubs. During divine service entertainments were given, hunts were carried on, military parades were held. Much looseness in the morals and ideas of the land was due perhaps to this general free-thinking."

Whilst the author was town physician, the prince met, at a bathing resort, a Countess von M——, who was young and beautiful. He made her his left-hand wife, and brought her to a *château* a few miles from the capital, where he could visit her. The writer of the "Memoirs" attended her during a confinement, and was then appointed by the prince his court physician and the general "Sanitary Councillor" of the land. He at once set to work to reform the medical profession and practice in it. He found that the regulations were more than one hundred and fifty years old, and treated of "tooth-drawers, worm doctors, snake and frog catchers," and that the profession in the principality was represented by a pack of ignorant quacks.

The medical reform was frustrated by a court revolution, of which the author gives the following account:—"The prince, who had hitherto amused himself only with hunting and soldiering, got tired of these hobbies and looked out for a change. He must also have tired of his favourite countess, who lived with her mother and brother at 'Wolfsforst,'[1] for he dismissed her, undertook a journey to Italy, and amazed his little capital on his return with opera and ballet corps. In Vienna he had made the acquaintance of a ballet-girl, with whom he fell desperately in love; and now all his passion for soldiers was converted into one for caperers on the boards of a theatre. He wanted not only to love his favourite, but to see her dance, so a whole company was engaged to assist her in the ballet, and the coquette played her cards so well that she completely ensnared her princely admirer, and in a very short while became the regent of the land.

"I at once felt the consequence of the altered relations, for suddenly it was announced that the dentist Martinelli was appointed court physician and medical councillor, with privilege of presentation at court.

"That the favourite dancing-girl had a hand in this was not doubtful, I suspected at first; but I soon found that my worst fears were not exaggerated. Martinelli had been a goldsmith's assistant at Prague, where he had made the acquaintance of the ballet-dancer, and had followed her to Vienna, and there sponged on her. She supplied him with money to attend Carabelli's lectures in the university, and to buy the title of 'Doctor in Surgery.' She must have been warmly attached to him; she pretended to the prince that he was her half-brother, and on this ground got his appointment. The prince himself suffered from nothing worse than corns, and could not wear his boots. The dancing-girl recommended her pretended brother, who, without much difficulty, extracted the corns, and was thereupon promoted to my place."

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[1] Really Wolfenbüttel.

But the dancing-girl was only Martinelli's means to an end. She fell into disfavour, but he planted himself deeper in the prince's regard. In half a year the dentist was elevated to be opera superintendent. The medicinal reform was left uncarried out, the cliques of the town recovered their hold of the rudder, and the author of these curious "Memoirs" left the town to be professor in an university.

Despotic power is a dangerous instrument in the hands of one emperor; it is far more dangerous when lodged with a host of little magnates. Prince Frederick Christian of Schaumburg-Lippe was a good marksman, and he delighted in playing the William Tell with his subjects. He would lie in waiting at the window of one of his hunting-lodges, or of his palace, with his gun, watching to see a child or a woman cross the street or go to the fountain with a pitcher on the head. Then crack went the gun, and the vessel flew into pieces, deluging the bearer with water or milk. Once, however, he shot a man through the body. He saw something moving behind a bush, and fired from his window at it. The Pastor Büsching remonstrated with the prince. "The old fellow is right," said the Nimrod, when Büsching left; "I have sinned against God and my people. I trust I shall be forgiven."

King Frederick William I. of Prussia used to argue that it was Scriptural for a sovereign to have absolute command over his people, for Scripture gives him lordship over "menservants and maidservants, young men and asses." In the exercise of this divine right he collected tall guardsmen where he could and how he could. One of his recruiting officers, Baron von Hompesch, cast his eyes on a strapping carpenter at Jülich, and coveted him for the guard of the king. To get him he had recourse to an artifice. He ordered a long box of him. The carpenter made and brought it. The baron said it was too short. The man, to show how long it was, laid himself down in it. Hompesch's men at once screwed down the lid, and sent the recruit to the King of Prussia. He received the man—but dead. It had been forgotten that he could not breathe in a close case.

In Osnabrück, under Frederick Duke of York, the second son of George III., who, when six months old, was created Protestant bishop of the diocese, a socman was condemned to draw the plough for life for having ventured to strike a steward of the bishop who had taken from him his affianced bride, and given her to another. Charles William of Nassau beat a peasant to death with his own hand who was accused to him of poaching.

Ernest Augustus of Saxe-Weimar in 1736 forbade his subjects "reasoning under pain of half a year at the treadmill."

The Count-Palatine Charles of Zweibrücken resided at Carlsberg, where he kept fifteen hundred horses, and a still greater number of cats and dogs, and collected the heads of meerschaum and clay pipes to the number of over a thousand. He issued a decree that every one coming in sight of his palace should uncover his head till out of sight. A foreigner, ignorant of the law, was on one occasion nearly beaten to death for not removing his hat.

It is unnecessary to continue the list of crimes, follies, and extravagances of the little German courts. Enough has been shown to let the reader judge whether they were conducive to general culture or not.

The princes, seeking to establish their despotism, were obliged to get rid of the nobility, who formed an estate in their petty realms, and in the Diets constantly opposed the extension of their sovereign power. Menzel says: "War, the headsman's axe, and emigration almost entirely exterminated the old free-spirited nobility. Here and there only might a gentleman be found living on his estate. Their place was taken by foreign adventurers. The example set by Austria was followed by the other German courts, and the families of ancient nobility were forced to admit to their rank unworthy creatures—the favoured mistresses of the princes and their offspring."

The revolution of 1848 completed the ruin of the gentry. The princes lent a hand to consummate their destruction, not then to establish themselves as despots, but to stave off their own ruin. The gentleman has therefore disappeared in Germany as a class. He has no political rights, no social position, different from the bürger. The latter is now the representative man. He is wealthy; the gentleman poor. He has acquired his wealth by scraping money together, by screwing down home expenses, and holding his workmen's noses inflexibly to the grindstone. He has made himself by pushing. He has trodden his way, regardless whom he jostles and on whose corns he treads. Such a man is useful, but he is not ornamental; valuable, but disagreeable. The market, not the drawing-room, is his proper sphere; men, not women, his proper associates. He may spend his money on works of art—this is most exceptional—but he cannot buy culture. Most of his gold goes in eating and drinking. His house is badly furnished. His wife and daughters, slipshod, in nightcaps and petticoats, ramble about the rooms till noon, and then blaze for an hour or two in gaudy attire, put on with a pitchfork. Philistinism, not chivalry, is the characteristic of German society, because the bürger has risen to the top and overspread the surface of society. Culture can no more be had for money than could spiritual gifts be purchased by Simon Magus. It may be acquired by one not born to it; but then it must be acquired in early life, or the twang of the old tongue remains. The haunt of all German men—his "Lokal"—is the last place where it may be learned. If he could but wrench himself from his club or tavern, and spend his evenings at home, he would become less loud in talk, more considerate of women, less uncouth, and more disinterested. His Philistinism would disappear; it would thaw under the genial warmth of his wife and daughters, and the vernal flowers of culture would shoot out of the rugged soil.

On the separation of sexes I have said so much, that I do not think it necessary to do more here than quote the words of a Russian officer of distinction.

"In Germany men live very little at home, the majority prefer spending their leisure in the tavern, or in the club, to devoting it to their family at home. The German hates restraint; seated behind his mug of beer, with two or three boon companions, he will pass long hours, lost in some interminable, philosophical discussion, in which, indeed, he is in his element. But, the more he feels at his ease in this society, and in this locality, the less comfortable he is when surrounded by ladies and in his home. He looks on all social gatherings in which both sexes meet as a sort of intolerable corvée, to which he must indeed submit once or twice in the year, which the tyranny of circumstances imposes on every master of a household. On such occasions, made solemn by their rarity, the host thinks he is bound to surround his guests with all the superfluities of pompous luxury, though in everyday life he denies himself even rudimentary comforts. Consequently, a German detests an impromptu visitor. He likes to be informed long before that a visit is intended, that he may prepare laboriously for it; for to receive a friend without ceremony is regarded as against all good manners. And, on the other hand, a visitor, however intimate he may be, would run the risk of being set down as ignorant of the first principles of etiquette, were he to present himself in the evening, or at dinner time, uninvited."[1]

In England every country house and parsonage has been a quiet nursery of gentility and purity. In Germany there are few country houses, and the parsonages are occupied by families of bürger or bauer origin. The pastors are, with rare exceptions, men of cultivated minds, men whom it is a pleasure to meet and converse with. But their wives are of citizen class, gentle, domestic women, but without the polish that is expected of the parson's wife in England, and she and her husband are not received into the best society. The pastor is poor, and has to scramble on with a large family on a small income. He cannot give his children a gentle education.

In England the hall and the rectory are on terms of intimacy. The daughter of the parson not unfrequently becomes lady at the hall, and the younger son of the squire is settled in the country rectory. We, who live in England, have little idea of the influence on culture possessed by the parsonage in our island. The young ladies from it grow up active in good works, loving and caring for the poor, looking after them in sickness, taking interest in the school-girls, teaching the lads in night-schools, organising cottage-garden shows and harvest festivals. And when they pass, as they so often do, to country homes of their own, in the hall or rectory, they carry with them their sympathy for those beneath them, and are in their generation fountains of light, stars beaming down into dark hearts, and making them twinkle with smiles. It has been my fate to be for some years in parishes without resident gentry, and where there have never been resident incumbents. The moral and social condition of these parishes is dark indeed compared to that where hall and rectory were ever influencing farmhouse and cottage.

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[1] Baron v. Kaulbars, "Notes d'un Officier Russe sur l'Armée Allemande," in *Bulletin de la Réunion des Officiers*, 1877.

I have seen the rudest village bumpkins humanised by a winter night-school conducted by the rector's daughters—not humanised only, but made gentle and chivalrous.

The rectory party and those in the hall are on familiar and often affectionate terms. There is no perceptible difference in culture between them; indeed, one family by birth and bringing up is as good as the other. The parsonage interests the hall in the matters of the parish, and so all classes meet in general sympathy and exchange of kindlinesses, and in so doing react on on one another; the poor receive light from above, and in return give back what is as precious—the feeling of that to which so ugly a name has been given—human solidarity, but which in Christian parlance is real charity. The rich knows the poor not by the outside only, but is acquainted with his wants, his shortcomings, his temptations, and seeks to help him, at least to make allowance for his deficiencies. Philistinism begins with dissociation of man from man, and class from class.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY UP TO DATE.

In the foregoing chapters there is little which at the close of 1898 needs alteration. The social and political conditions already described, with minor changes, obtain to-day. To enable the reader, however, to look at the German people from the point of view of 1898, the following chapter has been added.

Since 1878 Germany has seen the death of two of its sovereigns and that of its greatest prime minister, the Prince von Bismarck, who died July 30, 1898. The biography of the famous Chancellor falls little short of being the history of Germany.

The event causing the greatest national sorrow occurring since 1878 up to the present day was the death in 1888 of the Emperor William I., followed in a few months by that of his son and successor, Frederick III. The latter, who was an invalid, died June 15th, and was succeeded by his son, William II. Some excitement was caused in that year by the publication in the "Deutsche Rundschau" of what purported to be extracts from the private diary of Frederick III. These alleged excerpts reflected upon the achievements of Bismarck in helping to found the present German empire. The editor was accused of treason, but in the next year released from the charge. Great apprehension was felt for the peace of Europe at the time of the present emperor's coming to the throne, as he was thought to be likely to use immediately some high-handed measures in relations with foreign nations which might lead to an immediate rupture. The first speech of his reign was, characteristically, addressed to the army. In it he said that the army and he "belong to one another, and were born for one another." It was several years, however, before he could have his army bills passed.

The anti-Semite movement was agitated in 1880. The Jews were shown to be more numerous in Germany than any other European country save Austria, and to have nearly trebled in Germany in sixty years. By the Ultramontanes, and by certain prominent men, like the court preacher in Berlin and the historian Treitschke, they were considered to be a menace to the welfare of the nation. An attempt in 1880, however, to legislate against them was not successful. The following year witnessed a popular outbreak against the Jews, in which, at Berlin and other cities in Prussia, outrages were committed against them. In Berlin the chief part in these barbarous acts was taken by the students of the university.

In 1879 Bismarck joined hands with the Ultramontanes, and in 1882 Prussia provided for an ambassador at the Vatican. In 1883 further concessions were made to the Roman Catholics by the reinstatement of the bishop of Limburg and the resumption of payments by the state in support of Catholic priests in various dioceses, which contribution had been stopped during the Kulturkampf of 1874. These concessions were further marked by a friendly visit to the pope of the crown prince. The relations between Germany and the Papacy have steadily improved. An offer on the pope's part to allow Prussia to have an oversight in the selection of Roman Catholic bishops in Germany was complemented by a manifest willingness on the part of Prussia to make conciliatory modifications in the May laws, which were intended to counteract the desire of the pope to make all Catholics look to him instead of to the German state. The king was then empowered to reinstate bishops who had been deposed, and the government permitted the organization, under its direct supervision, of ecclesiastical orders for charitable purposes.

This was supplemented in 1887 by the Prussian Church bill, which allowed seminaries to be opened in Limburg and Osnabruck, and entirely did away with the veto which in 1873 was given to governors of provinces, and which empowered them to prevent the appointment of any parish priest who, they thought, would act in a way to break the peace or subvert the interests of the empire. In addition to this, the Prussian Church bill allowed the vacant ecclesiastical positions to be filled by the church, and provided that certain religious orders should be re-established. This act specially stipulated, however, the exclusion of the Jesuits.

Two attempts to assassinate the emperor in 1878 led to much more severe legislation against socialists, and gave Bismarck an excuse to dissolve the parliament. Great rigor was displayed in the punishment of the slightest sentiment of disloyalty to the crown, and in two summer months five hundred and twenty-one persons were sentenced, without jury, to an average of nearly two years of imprisonment. The measures against socialism, adopted by the next Reichstag, included the prohibition of the meetings and publications of the socialists.

The bill against the socialists, passed in 1878, was in 1880 extended for five years. In 1883 another attempt was made on the emperor's life. The would-be assassins were sentenced to death; and the "Explosives Act" was passed, which gave the police the power to regulate the manufacture, sale and use of explosives, and to arrest all persons guilty of using language which would incite any one to commit crimes, such as the attack on the emperor. In 1888 the anti-socialist laws were again prolonged, this time to be in effect until 1893. These measures were all carried through the parliaments by Bismarck in the face of much reasonable opposition on the part of the members of socialistic tendencies. In 1888 one of them pointed out that not even in France, under the third Napoleon, was there such a thoroughly penetrating system of police espionage. Ten years before, the following fable had been printed in the "Frankfurter Zeitung": "There was once a schoolmaster who used a great many canes, and was much given to putting his pupils in solitary confinement. Once the inspector called on him and found the school in a very bad state. 'My friend,' said he, 'you have unlimited control over everything here. How is it that your school gets worse and worse every year?' 'Ah!' replied the tyrant, 'I have a wicked lot to rule. Give me another bundle of canes a year and build me one or two more cells for the confinement of the refractory, or I really cannot answer for the consequences.' 'Why,' exclaimed the inspector, 'you have already given ten times as many floggings as any of your colleagues. If flogging were the remedy, the vilest jailer would be the best adviser, and your school an example for the whole world. But the stick is the measure of your pedagogy, and what you ought to have taught you have still to learn. When the pupils are fit for nothing, that shows the teacher is fit for nothing, so be good enough to march out. What we want is a schoolmaster who has no need for canes and is satisfied with one cell.' " It is needless to say that the editor of the paper was imprisoned for this masked rebuke of Bismarck's methods.

In 1881 a bill was introduced making it compulsory for workmen in mines and manufactories to insure their lives against accident, thus providing for medical attendance, and pensions for widows and orphans, the premium to be paid partially by the employer and partially by the workmen. This was strongly opposed, however, and did not finally pass until 1884. It was intended by this measure that the state should show some evidence of a desire to prevent the calamities which fall upon the neglected poor, and thereby obviate the socialistic tendencies of this time. "The fulfillment of this duty toward the laboring classes is intended to rouse the latter to a consciousness of the blessings attending the peaceful development of the unified Fatherland; to withdraw the ground from those revolutionary elements that worked for the overthrow of Divine and human institutions; and to pave the way for abolishing the exceptional measures enacted to combat these anarchic agencies." The principle of insuring workmen was further applied in 1887, by a law which provided pensions for widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors. In 1888 the scope of the workmen's insurance act was enlarged so as to affect eleven million German wage earners. It provides for relief in case of sickness or accident, and furnishes a small fund for the survivors in case of death; and in old age a small pension is allowed.

The year 1890 saw important decrees issued by the emperor with regard to the regulation of labor and the welfare of the workingmen. These emanated primarily from the emperor himself, and were, at any rate, the indirect cause of the resignation of Prince Bismarck, on January 31, from the office of Prussian Minister of Commerce and Industry, and on March 17 from the chancellorship of the empire, in which he was succeeded by General von Caprivi, who had been Minister of Marine.

One of the decrees mentioned called for an international conference on the labor question, which met in March, and considered the questions of labor in mines, Sunday work, child labor, youths' labor, and female labor. The number of hours per day, age at which young persons should be allowed to work, and the nature of their work, were considered. These conclusions were embodied in bills which were brought before the parliament.

This was followed in 1891 by the Trades Law Amendment Act, which made new provisions to protect the life and health of the workman, and gave to the Federal council the duty of deciding upon the length of the working day to be adopted in various fields of labor.

The hard times of 1878, in which for a short period a hundred persons a day went bankrupt in Berlin alone, gave a further impetus to Bismarck's policy for protection of German industries. In the following year a heavy protective tariff was adopted by the parliament, and in 1885 the import tax on corn was still further increased. In 1891 a protest was made to the government against the continuance of the high tariff on imported corn. This had only the effect of producing a decrease in freight rates on the national German railway. In 1891 an important commercial treaty was signed by the parties to the Triple Alliance, establishing for a period of eleven years following 1892 what is known as the Central European Customs League. In this arrangement specified tariffs are fixed for commodities passing between the parties to the Triple Alliance, and to and from them by the other nations in Europe, including Switzerland and Belgium. The treaty passed the German parliament only after much opposition, the most effective of which was made by Prince Bismarck. It resulted in feelings of much cordiality between Austria and Germany, but was not satisfactory to France.

The alliance with Austria in 1879 was signalized by a visit of the emperor of Austria to the emperor of Germany; and this was followed shortly by a visit of Prince Bismarck to Vienna, where he was received with great honor. The news of this alliance produced a great effect all over Europe, particularly in England, where it was believed that the understanding between the two nations would insure the peace of Europe for centuries. Lord Salisbury spoke of the news as "Glad tidings of great joy." The text of this treaty was first published in 1888, it being thought expedient, on the ground of the apparently hostile movements of the Russian army, to give the popular mind some assurance of the strong position, yet peaceful intentions, maintained by Germany among the great powers of Europe. The treaty was renewed in 1891 for a period of seven years.

As signed on October 7, 1879, it provided: first, that if one of the two empires should be attacked by Russia, they should assist one another with the whole military power of their empires, and to conclude peace only in agreement; second, that if one of them should be attacked by any power other than Russia, the other of the contracting parties should not only not assist the aggressor, but should observe an attitude of friendly neutrality. If, on the other hand, the aggressor should be assisted by Russia, both parties to this treaty should assist one another with full military strength until peace be assured; third, that the treaty should be kept secret, unless by consent of both parties it should be made known to another nation. "The two august contracting parties, in view of the sentiments expressed by the Emperor Alexander at the meeting in Alexandrovno, cherish the hope that the Russian military preparations will not really prove threatening to them, and have, therefore, no occasion to make any communication on the subject; but should this hope, contrary to expectation, prove erroneous, the two august contracting parties would regard it as a duty of honor to inform the Emperor Alexander, at least confidentially, that they must regard an attack on one of them as an attack on both."

The year 1879 saw the accomplishment of three important matters in the internal management of Germany. An autonomous government was instituted for Alsace-Lorraine; a bill was passed introducing a common judicature in all of the twenty-seven states which composed the German empire. The latter is to be noticed as all the more remarkable from the facts that only four years had elapsed since the combination of these states into one empire had taken place, and that they differed much in point of judicial procedure. The third event was the steps taken in the direction of nationalizing the railways of the empire.

In 1884 Bismarck began to unfold his policy of colonization, and immediately found an opportunity of putting it into actual practice in the protection which he gave to the German traders who had settled on the west African coast, particularly at Angra Pequeña, although the British government alleged that its colony at the Cape of Good Hope had jurisdiction over all this territory. This, and the delay on the part of Great Britain in acquiescing, caused some coolness of feeling between the two nations.

Though the protectorate exercised by Germany over portions of Africa and the Pacific Islands has only lately begun to take on the dignity of colonies, we may trace the steps of her "colonizing" advance since 1884 chronologically as follows: After the settlement in Togoland and the Cameroons in 1884 she spread still more over Southwestern Africa, and between 1885 and 1890 succeeded in establishing herself in Eastern Africa. In the Pacific Ocean Bismarck's Archipelago was acquired in 1885, and in the following year Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, the Solomon Islands and Marshall Islands.

In 1885 a congress met in Berlin to consider the African question, and decided that freedom of commerce should be allowed and religious worship of all creeds freely tolerated from the Congo basin eastward as far as the Indian Ocean, and that the navigation of the Congo River was to be open to all nations, under conditions regulated by an international commission. The provinces of the various nations of Europe were defined, and the way they might be extended was arranged. It was agreed to suppress slave trade. In the same year a treaty was made between Germany and Samoa, providing that a Germano-Samoan council should settle disputes between the two peoples, that the king of Samoa should appoint a German secretary, and that he should employ a police force of Germans for the protection of the German plantations.

A conflict of interests in New Guinea and in West and Central Africa between Great Britain and Germany was amicably settled by a convention defining the English and German spheres of influence in the Gulf of Guinea and in Natal and Delagoa Bay.

These matters were just arranged when a difference arose between England and Germany concerning the east coast of Africa. The Sultan of Zanzibar laid claim to certain lands between the mouth of the Juba River and Cape Delgado, which had been placed under the protection of Germany by the Sultan of Vitu, who was a native chief under the rule of Zanzibar. When the Sultan of Zanzibar proceeded with men and cannon to make good his claim, five German war vessels and 1,600 men were sent to make a demonstration against him. He had been persuaded by the British consul-general, it was said, to take no notice of the previous representations of the German consul. He was quickly brought to terms by the German fleet, however, and later made a commercial treaty with Germany. The part played by the British consul-general caused no little irritation in Germany.

The year 1885 also saw a brush between Germany and Spain concerning the Caroline Islands. A German gunboat seized the island of Yap, and, in addition, raised the German flag over all the Caroline and Pelew Islands. Spain's admiral put in a protest, and the mob in Madrid treated the German consulate in the Spanish capital with violence. Germany acknowledged her mistake, however, and withdrew from the islands, after a friendly mediation between the two countries by the pope of Rome.

In 1886, a convention was signed by the representatives of Great Britain and Germany relative to their respective spheres of influence in the Pacific Ocean, exclusive of Samoa, which was under the protection of the United States as well.

Samoan affairs, which had in 1888 taken on an unpropitious aspect, began to be really serious in 1889, and at one time threatened to produce antagonism between Germany and the United States. An attack of native Samoans upon some German marines had been alleged to be incited by an American citizen. German military law was at once proclaimed, a Samoan newspaper, the "Times," was suppressed, and a blockade declared. Protests were at once made by the United States government, the German consul was removed, and it was arranged that the martial law was not to apply to foreigners in the island.

On March 16 an extraordinary calamity occurred at Apia, where war vessels of Germany, Great Britain and the United States were at anchor in the harbor. A storm arose suddenly and drove all the ships, except the British "Calliope," ashore, drowning many persons, and completely wrecking the German ships "Eber," "Adler" and "Olga," and the United States vessels "Vandalia," "Nipsic," and "Trenton."

After the Samoan episode it was found necessary to continue the conference on the Samoan question, and the delegates met in Berlin instead of Washington, where they had been. The result of this meeting was a treaty signed by Great Britain, Germany and the United States. This treaty provided first, that the Samoan Islands should be neutral territory, should be independent, and the foreign residents should be allowed to have their own laws and customs. A king of Samoa was recognized. It was provided, second, that this treaty should supersede any others made by any of the signatory powers; and, third, that a supreme court should be appointed, to be presided over by a judge called the Chief-justice of Samoa. The chief-justice was to be appointed by the three signatory powers, or, in case they should not agree, by the king of Norway and Sweden. The powers further agreed that in case of any international dispute arising between them, it should not be considered a cause for war, but should be decided by the chief-justice. This justice should have jurisdiction over civil suits between natives and foreigners concerning real estate, and criminal cases in which the offenders were natives of Samoa or of any other country not having a consul at Samoa.

This treaty also provided for the permanent possession of land by the natives and their descendants, made arrangements for taxation and revenue, and regulated the use of arms, ammunition and intoxicating drinks. The last were absolutely prohibited among the native Samoans.

The king, Malietoa, appointed under the treaty of 1889, died August 22, 1898. The appointment of his successor threatened immediately to involve international complications.

In 1889 there was some friction between England and Germany on the ground that the English blockading fleet in Zanzibar had seized Dr. Peters' ship "Neaera," in which he was carrying provisions for the relief of Emin Pasha. And later in the same year an announcement that Germany had assumed the protectorate over the coast between Vitu and Kismaju called forth a vigorous protest from the British government, which claimed a portion of this territory. Bismarck carried through the parliament a bill giving a certain amount as a fund for the carrying out of the German colonial policy in East Africa, which called for a colonial military governor to be appointed there. Major Wissman was sent in this capacity, and in 1890 put down several uprisings of the natives, and occupied three important towns on the coast. In May of the same year a definite arrangement was concluded between Great Britain and Germany concerning boundaries of English and German spheres of influence in Africa, both on the east and on the west coasts, with the exception of the territory surrounding Walfisch Bay on the west coast, which was to be subsequently submitted to arbitration. In this year, too, the island of Heligoland was, in return for certain concessions made by Germany to Great Britain, ceded to Germany, and the imperial flag raised there with fitting ceremonies.

Russia and Germany became somewhat excited in 1880 over incidents which, though trivial in themselves, were the subject of much bitter newspaper comment in both countries. The Russians showed great disappointment that Germany, in making alliance with Austria, had in so far shown a disregard for a traditional feeling which might have led to a union with Russia. Four years later, a meeting of the emperors of Russia and Germany occurred at Skiernievice, in Poland, on which occasion a formal alliance was concluded between them. This did not, however, prevent a great wave of indignation from spreading over Russia and Austria when, in the following year, 1885, Germany expelled all Poles that were not already German subjects. Nearly 35,000 Poles, the majority of whom were Russian subjects, were thus banished. The hardships attending the execution of this decree were numerous. Some of the country towns in Polish Prussia were almost depopulated. Those that felt the decree hardest were certain workmen who had paid their policies of insurance under the recent act making such insurance obligatory, and many others who could speak only the German language. This policy was defended at great length by Bismarck in the parliament of 1886, when a bill was introduced to appropriate a hundred million marks for purposes of Germanizing the Polish districts of Prussia. In 1887 further indignation was aroused by the edict of the emperor which prohibited instruction in the Polish language in the schools of Posen.

In 1889 the antagonism with Russia was further increased by the raising of the freight on Russian railways on goods imported from Germany, and by the persecution of Germans who were residents of Russian districts. In addition to this, much jealousy was aroused in Russian diplomatic circles by a friendly visit paid by the German emperor to the Sultan in Constantinople. In 1894, however, a commercial treaty with Russia was signed, which gave to both countries easier terms for carrying on business over the border, and tended to promote a more friendly feeling between Russians and Germans. The chancellor, Caprivi, described the treaty as a bridge between the two nations, and said that it would be a great help in maintaining the peace of Europe, thus supplementing the already salutory effects of the Triple Alliance, and of the increase in the force of the German army. The treaty is to remain in force until December 31, 1903.

The army was the subject of modifications and improvements at the hands of the German parliament in 1880, fixing, among other things, the increase in, and expenditure for, the army for seven years following 1881. In 1886, although the above period had not yet expired, a bill was introduced to increase the army still further. This seemed necessary in order to keep pace with France and Russia, who were making extensive additions to their armies and frontier defenses. This bill was defeated in 1886, but taken up again in 1887. Fears of a French war of revenge were raised, and an apparent hostility of Russia was accentuated. Upon the election of a new parliament, however, the Army Bill passed with a large majority. The result of this was to add 170,000 men to the existing German army. Besides this, it was arranged that by means of increased service being demanded for the Landsthurm, the army should gradually be increased to 700,000 men. In 1888 a law was passed making it compulsory for every German male adult to spend seven years of his life in the army. Prince Bismarck's remarks, made in his speech in favor of this measure, remain true of the German army to-day. "We have a corps of officers such as no other Power has. If we are attacked the *furor Teutonicus* will flame out. We base our alliance on the strength of our army. If we have no cause to use it, all the better; but we must make our arrangements with the idea that we do use it."

One of the first acts of the Emperor William II. was for the increase of the army. In 1890 it was arranged to bring the peace footing of the army up to nearly half a million men.

The administration of Alsace-Lorraine was a bone of contention between the inhabitants, who were largely French, and the imperial German government. Strong measures were taken to Germanize this province. In 1888 Bismarck announced his desires of having relations with France "more distant," and backed it up with an imperial decree compelling all foreigners entering Alsace-Lorraine from France to be accompanied by a passport vised by the German ambassador in Paris.

The last four or five years have seen a great enterprise on the part of the emperor and his minister of marine to increase the effectiveness of the German navy. To this a strong impulse was given in 1897 by the expedition which was sent to China to avenge the massacre of German missionaries there. Immediately after the outrage the German Asiatic squadron occupied Kiao-Chou Bay, near where the murders took place. These incidents helped the navy bill to pass the parliament. The city and fort of Kiao-Chou were occupied December 3, 1897, by the expedition under the emperor's brother, Prince Henry. The German consul-general from Shanghai came and established a German government there, and simultaneously the German ambassador at Pekin demanded from the Chinese a money indemnity, a German railway monopoly, together with the retirement of the Chinese governor in Shantung, and the punishment of the murderers. It was further demanded that the Germans should be reimbursed for their outlay of money in occupying Kiao-Chou, and that a cathedral be erected. All these demands except the last, and the one calling for a railway monopoly, were yielded to by the Chinese. The selection by Germany of this particular point in which to get a foothold in China is likely to be particularly advantageous from its real, though not apparent, strategic importance, when considered in relation to Peking, the capital of the Chinese empire. The extent of country thus appropriated by Germany is considerable, embracing as it does the mountains of Shantung and the plain behind it, which in case of need would furnish easy access for German troops to the capital city itself. It is estimated that the territory brought by this stroke of Germany within the latter's sphere of influence is populated by at least ten million inhabitants. In addition to these advantages, the seaport Kiao-Chou is the center of a rich coal-mining region, which needs only a few railways to become easily adaptable to German desires.

The German Asiatic fleet, which re-enforced Prince Henry's demands at Kiao-Chou, caused much uncomfortable feeling in the United States by appearing at Manila when the American commodore, Dewey, had taken possession of the Philippines. By the presence of five German warships in Manila Bay, if in no other way, Germany was thought to be giving aid or countenance to the Spaniards there, and the anxiety of the United States was shared to some degree by Great Britain.

Considerable attention was in 1897 attracted toward the custom of dueling in Germany. Students' duels, though never bloodless, do not involve any danger to the lives of the duelists. The emperor had expressed his approval of the students' duel on the occasion of his visit, in 1891, to the University of Bonn, in the following words: "It is my firm conviction that every youth who enters a fraternity or beer-drinking and dueling club will receive the true direction of his life from the spirit which prevails in these societies. It is the best education which a young man can get for his future life, and he who scoffs at the German students' corps does not penetrate their real meaning. I hope that as long as there are German students' fraternities the spirit which is fostered in them, and which is steeled by strength and courage, will be preserved, and that you will always take delight in handling the dueling blade."

In 1897, however, the emperor promulgated a rescript against serious dueling, which contained the following characteristic language: "It is my desire that duels in which my officers are involved should be more effectually prevented than ever before. An officer must recognize that every attack on the honor of another is wrong. If in haste, or under the influence of passion, he violates this principle, he will act chivalrously in not persisting in his mistake, but will offer his hand with a view to a friendly settlement." The rescript contains complete rules for guiding the conduct on many occasions, so that a duel may be successfully prevented, and arranges that the court of honor shall use its best offices to avert duels and settle without violence the differences between officers and others.

The material progress of Germany during the last twenty years has been enormous. In various industries—agricultural, mechanical and manufacturing—she has made rapid strides. Her business men are noted for their accuracy, hard work, and systematic management of affairs, having received from the example of the army a machine-like performance of duty which is a great contributor to economic prosperity. Great progress during the period under review has been made in textile manufactures, the increase in use of raw material having doubled. A still greater advance has been made in the production of hardware and metal manufactures. In the manufacture of steel Germany is led by only two other nations—Great Britain and the United States. In addition to this, the merchant marine has had large increases, and railroads and savings banks have shown the extraordinary growth of various industries. An interesting fact in the development of the nation is that the population of one hundred cities has nearly doubled in twenty years, while, in the country districts, the population is little over a tenth greater than it was. In the four largest cities—Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Leipzig—the population more than doubled, being, in the case of the last-named, nearly three times as great. This material progress is the more remarkable when Germany's somewhat unfavorable commercial position on the map of Europe, in comparison with France and England, is considered; and seems thus to be greater than any other European nation, and this, in spite of the great drain which her enormous standing army makes upon her finances.

APPENDIX.

As it has been impossible for me to deal otherwise than briefly with many subjects of great importance, which hardly admit of compression into the limited space allotted them, I subjoin the titles of books, for the benefit of those who desire to pursue any of the subjects.

CHAPTERS I. & II.—THE NOBILITY.

Lohmeier, J. G. Genealogische Beschreibung der vornehmsten Chur- und fürstlichen Häuser in Deutschland. Folio. Tübingen, 1695.

Moltke. De Matrimonio Nobilis cum Ignobili. 4to. Rostock, 1707.

Bürgermeister, J. S. Des Reichs-Adels d. dreyen Ritter-Craysen in Schwaben, Franken und am Rheinstrom Immedietät-Prärogativen. 4to. Ulm, 1709.

Bericht vom Adel in Deutschland. 4to. Frankfurt, 1721.

Bürgermeister, J. S. Graven- und Ritter-Saal. 4to. Ulm, 1715, 1721.

Riccii, Ch. G. Zuverlässiger Entwurf von dem landsässigen Adel in Deutschland, dessen Ursprung, Alter, Schuldigkeiten, Rechte, &c. 4to. Nürnberg, 1735.

Schulenberg. De Privilegiis ac Prærogativis Nobilium Mediatorum in Germania. 4to. Vitemberg, 1746.

Semler. De Ministerialibus. 4to. Altdorf, 1751.

Dulssecker, J. F. Commentatio Juris Publici de Matrimoniis Personarum Illustrium in Imperio Romano Germanico. Nostris "Von den Vermählungen derer Standspersonen in Teutschland." Jena, 1760.

Ploennies. De Ministerialibus, "Von dem Zustand des nieder. Adels in Teutschland." 4to. Jena, 1757.

Von d. Geschlechtsadel u. d. Erneuerung des Adels. 8vo. Leipzig, 1778.

Versuch einer pragmat. Geschichte der Lehen, aus den Zeiten vor der Errichtung d. fränkischen Monarchie bis zur Erlöschung d. karolingischen Stammes in Deutschland. 8vo Frankfurt, 1785.

Dulaure, J. A. Kritische Geschichte des Adels, worinn seine Vorurtheile, seine Räubereien und Verbrechen aufgedecket werden. 8vo. (without place or publisher), 1792.

Kotzebue. Vom Adel. 8vo. Leipzig, 1792.

Rehberg, A. W. Ueber den deutschen Adel. 8vo. Göttingen, 1803.

Wedekind, Frh. v. Das Werth des Adels und die Ansprüche des Zeitgeistes auf Verbesserung d. Adelsinstituts. 8vo. Darmstadt, 1816.

De la Motte-Fouqué u. F. Perthes. Etwas über den deutschen Adel. 8vo. Hamburg, 1819.

Göhrum, Ch. G. Geschichtliche Darstellung der Lehre v. d. Ebenbürtigkeit, nach gemeinem deutschen Rechte. 8vo. Tübingen, 1846.

Strantz. Geschichte d. deutschen Adels. 8vo. Breslau, 1845.

Vallgraff, C. Die teutschen Standesherren. 2 vols. 8vo. Mainz, 1851.

Vehse, E. Geschichte der kleinen deutschen Höfe: die Höfe der Mediatisirten. 5 vols. 8vo. Hamburg, 1856–9.

Fischer, L. H. Der teutsche Adel in der Vorzeit, Gegenwart und Zukunft. 2 vols. 8vo. Frankfurt, 1852.

Roth v. Schreckenstein, Frh. C. H. Das Patriziat in den deutschen Städten. 8vo. Tübingen, 1856.

Kneschke. Deutsche Grafenhäuser der Gegenwart. 3 vols. 8vo. Leipzig, 1859–60.

Kühns, F. J. Ueber den Ursprung und das Wesen des Feudalismus. 8vo. Berlin, 1869.

CHAPTER III. –THE LAWS OF SUCCESSION.

Knipschiltii, Ph. Tractat. de Fideicommissis Familiar. Nobil. vulgo "Stammgütern." 4to. Colon. 1715, 1750.

Beck. De Licita Majoratum et Fideicommissorum Familiarum Nobilium Alienatione. 4to. Altdorf, 1750.

Hersemeier, H. De Pactis Gentilitiis Familiarum Illustr. atque Nobilium Germaniæ, vulgo "Von den in der Privatfamilien-Gesetzgebungsfreiheit hauptsächl. begründeten Haus- u. Stammverträgen d. deutschen Adels." 4to. Mogunt, 1788.

Danz. Ueber Familiengesetze des deutschen Adels, welche nicht standesvermässige Vermählungen untersagen. 8vo. Frankfurt, 1792.

Moshamm, Frh. A. Entwicklung d. rechtl. Verhältnisse d. deutschen Geschlechts-Fideicommissen. 8vo. München, 1816.

Salza, C. v. und Lichtenau. Die Lehre von Familien-, Stamm- und Geschlechts-Fideicommissen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1838.

Zimmerle, L. Das deutsche Stammgutssystem nach seinem Ursprunge und s. Verlaufe. 8vo. Tübingen, 1857.

Kraut, W. Th. Die Vormundschaft nach den Grundsätzen des deutschen Rechts. 3 vols. 8vo. Göttingen, 1859.

Arnold. Zur Geschichte des Eigenthums in der deutschen Städten. 8vo. Basel, 1861.

Schröder, R. Geschichte d. ehelichen Güterrechts in Deutschland. 8 vols. 8vo. Stettin, 1863–74.

Schulze, H. Das Erb- und Familienrecht im Mittelalter. 8vo. Halle, 1871.

Amira, K. v Erbenfolge und Verwandtschaftsgliederung nach den alten niederdeutschen Rechten. 8vo. München, 1874.

Schröder, R. Das eheliche Güterrecht Deutschlands in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

Witzmann, Th. Das Erbrecht im Bereiche der preussischen Monarchie in seinen Grundzügen dargestellt. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

Lammers. Die Erbfolge auf Bauerhöfen, in Faucher's Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirthschaft. Pt. IX. Berlin, 1875.

Scheel, H. Eigenthum und Erbrecht. Berlin, 1877.

CHAPTER IV.—PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

Autenrieth. Ueber Vertrennung der Bauerngüter. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1779.

Schüz, C. W. Ch. Ueber den Einfluss der Vertheilung des Grundeigenthums auf das Volk- und Staatsleben. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1836.

Maurer, G. L. Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof- und Dorfverfassung. 8vo. Erlangen, 1856.

Becker. Die Almende. 8vo. Basel, 1868.

Roscher, W. Nationalökonomik des Ackerbaues. 7th edit. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1873.

Lehnert, E. Ueber die gegenwärtige Eintheilung der Grundstücke in Deutschland. 8vo. Leipzig, 1874.

CHAPTER V.—MARRIAGE.

Schulte, J. F. Handbuch des katholischen Eherechts. Giessen, 1855.

Friedberg, E. Das Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Leipzig, 1865.

Friedberg, E. Die Geschichte der Civilehe. Berlin, 1870.

Kah, K. Die Ehe und das bürgerliche Standesamt nach badischem Rechte. Heidelberg, 1872.

Knopp, N. Vollständiges Eherecht. Regensburg, 1873.

Schröder, R. Geschichte des ehelichen Güterrechts. Stettin, 1874

Baron, J. Das Heirathen in alten und neuen Gesetzen. Berlin, 1874.

Stölzel, A. Eheschliessungsrecht. Berlin, 1874.

Stölzel, A. Deutsches Eheschliessungsrecht. Berlin, 1876.

Hölder, E. Die römische Ehe. Zürich, 1874.

Sohm, R. Das Recht der Eheschliessung. Weimar, 1875.

Friedberg, E. Verlobung und Trauung; zugleich als Kritik von Sohm, Das Recht der Eheschliessung. Leipzig, 1876.

Sicherer, H. Ueber Eherecht und Ehegerichtsbarkeit in Bayern. München, 1875.

Hinscius. Das Reichsgesetz über die Beurkundung des Personenstandes und die Form der Eheschliessung, mit Commentar. Berlin, 1875.

Kletke, C. M. Gesetz über die Eheschliessung in deutschen Reiche. 3rd edit. Berlin, 1875.

Scheuerl, Adf. Die Entwicklung d. kirchlichen Eheschliessungsrechts. Erlangen, 1877.

Einsiedel, H. v. Die Verheirathung ohne Einwilligung der Eltern oder des Vermunds. Leipzig, 1878.

CHAPTER VI.—WOMEN.

Meiners, C. Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts. Hannover, 1788–1800.

Geist. Sitten und Character der Weiber in den verschiedenen Zeitaltern. Chemnitz, 1793.

Münch, E. v. Margariten: Frauencharaktere aus älterer u. neuerer Zeit. Cannstadt, 1840. (Unfinished.)

Jung, G. Geschichte der Frauen. Erster [and only] Theil (die Unterdrückung der Frauen und ihre allmählige Selbstbefreiung bis zur Erscheinung des Christenthums. Frankfurt, 1850.

Weinhold, K. Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter. Wien, 1851.

Düntzer, H. Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit. Stuttgart, 1852.

Weimar and its Celebrities, in "Westminster Review." 1859.

Klarum, G. Die Frauen: culturgeschichtliche Schilderungen des Zustandes und Einflusses der Frauen in den verschiedenen Zonen und Zeitaltern. Dresden, 1859.

Wiese. Die Stellung der Frauen im Alterthum und in d. christlich. Zeit. Berlin, 1854.

Scherr, J. Geschichte der deutschen Frauenwelt. 3rd edit. Leipzig, 1873.

CHAPTER VII.—EDUCATION.

Horace Mann. Educational Tour in Europe. English edit. London, 1846.

Heppe, H. Geschichte des deutschen Volksschulwesens. Gotha, 1859.

Education Commission: Reports of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to Enquire into the State of Popular Education in Continental Europe. Vol. IV. London, 1860.

Arnold, M. Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. London, 1874.

Laas, E. Gymnasium und Realschule. Berlin, 1875.

Kehr, C. Geschichte der Methodik d. deutschen Volksschulunterrichtes. Gotha, 1878.

Laacke, K. C. F. Schulgesetzsammlung. Leipzig, 1878.

Schultze, G. V. Das deutsche Reich u. die Bildung der Jugend nach Entlassung aus der Volksschule. Leipzig, 1878.

Steinbart, O. "Unsere Abiturienten." Berlin, 1878.

Gräfe, H. Deutsche Volksschule, od. Bürger u. Landschule, nebst eine Geschichte der Volksschule. Jena, 1878.

Cauer, E. Die höh're Mädchenschule u. die Lehrerinfrage. Berlin, 1878.

Giebe. Verordnungen betr. das gesammte Volksschulwesen in Preussen, nebst ausführlich. Lehrplänen für die 1. bis 6. klass. Volksschule. 3rd edit. Düsseldorf, 1878.

Jahresbericht der höheren Bürgerschule zu Karlsruhe für das Schuljahr 1877–78. Karlsruhe, 1878.

Jahresbericht der städtischen höheren Töchterschule in Karlsruhe für das Schuljahr 1877–78. Karlsruhe, 1878.

Hagelgans, J. G. Orbis literatus Academ. Musarum Sedes, Societates, Universitates. Frankfurt, 1737.

Meiners, C. Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwickelung der hohen Schulen unsres Erdtheils. Göttingen, 1802–5.

Kuchhäuser, J. Erinnerungen aus d. höchstmerkwürdigen Lebensgeschichte eines Studenten. Solothurn, 1848.

Tholuck, A. Das akademische Leben d. 17. Jahrhunderts. 2nd edit. Halle, 1854.

Meyer, J. B. Deutsche Universitäts-Entwicklung. Berlin, 1875.

Helmholtz, H. Ueber die akademische Freiheit der deutschen Universitäten. Berlin, 1878.

Deutscher Universitäts-Kalender. Berlin, twice annually.

Chapter VIII.—THE ARMY.

Notes d'un Officier russe sur l'Armée allemande, in "Bulletin de la Réunion des Officiers," Paris, 1877, Nos. 13-49; 1878, Nos. 2, 5. (German officers have assured me that this is the best account of their army organization that has appeared.)

Egidy. Die Dienstverhältnisse der Mannschaften d. Beurlaubtenstandes, einschliesslich der Rekruten u. Ersatzreservisten. 5th edit. Bautzen, 1878.

Haber, B v. Die Cavalerie des deutschen Reiches. Hannover, 1878.

Witte. Das Ausbildungsjahr bei der Fussartillerie. Berlin, 1878.

Bütow. Die kaiserliche deutsche Marine. Berlin, 1878.

Dilthey. Militärischer Dienstunterricht für einjährige Freiwillige, Reserve-Offizieraspiranten u. Offiziere d. Beurlaubtenstandes der deutschen Infanterie. 10th edit. Berlin, 1878.

Eintheilung u. Standquartiere des deutschen Reichsheeres. Berlin, 1878.

Poten, B. Handwörterbuch der gesammten Militärwissenschaften. Bielefeld, 1878.

Niemann. Militär-Handlexicon. 3 vols. Stuttgart, 1877–78. (A capital book.)

Kirchner, C. Lehrbuch d. Militär-Hygiene. Stuttgart, 1877.

Roth u. Lex. Handbuch der Militär-Gesundheitspflege. 2 vols. Berlin, 1875.

Militair-Encyclopädie, allgemeine. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet v. e. Verein deutscher Offiziere. Leipzig, 1878.

Militär-Gesetze d. deutschen Reichs. Berlin, 1878.

Buschbeck-Helldorff. Feld-Taschenbuch für Officiere aller Waffen der deutschen Armee zum Kriegs- und Friedensgebrauch. 4th edit. 1878.

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Devrient, E. Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst. Leipzig, 1848.

Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach. Berlin. Appears annually.

Brachvogel, A. E. Geschichte d. königl. Theaters zu Berlin. Berlin, 1878.

Genée, R. Das deutsche Theater und die Reform-Frage. Berlin, 1878.

Kürschner, J. Jahrbuch für das deutsche Theater. Leipzig, 1878.

CHAPTER X.—THE KULTURKAMPF.

It is unnecessary to give a list of the innumerable pamphlets the *Kulturkampf* has given birth to.

An abstract of the laws affecting the Catholic Church in Germany, in a compendious form, will be found in—

Die preussische-deutsche Kirchengesetzgebung seit 1871 : vollständige Sammlung der auf den Kirchenconflict in Preussen und Deutschland bezüglichen Staatsgesetze und wichtigeren ministeriellen Erlasse. 2nd edit. Münster, 1876.

CHAPTER XI.—PROTESTANTISM.

Dewar, Rev. E. H. German Protestantism. Oxford, 1844.
Laing, S. Notes on the "German Catholic Church." London, 1845.
Laing, S. Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of Italy, France, and Germany during the Nineteenth Century. London, 1842.
Religious Thought in Germany. Reprinted from the "Times." London, 1870.
The Protestant Church in Prussia, in the "Foreign Church Chronicle," 1878 and 1879.

Of German books and pamphlets the number precludes their being quoted, but the following deserves mention as containing annual information concerning the events that have taken place in the Evangelical Churches of Germany:—

Mathes. Kirchliche Chronik. Herausgegeben von Pfarrer Werner in Gruben. Altona (annually).

CHAPTER XII.—THE LABOUR QUESTION.

Bamberger, Lud. Die Arbeiterfrage unt. d. Gesichtspunkte d. Vereinsrechtes. Stuttgart, 1873.
Böhmert, Vict. Der Socialismus u. die Arbeiterfrage. Zürich, 1872.
Diefenbach, R. J. Ueber die Arbeiterfrage. Stuttgart, 1872.
Stahl, Fr. W. Die Arbiterfrage sonst und jetzt. Berlin, 1872.
Felix, Ludw. Die Arbeiter und die Gesellschaft: eine culturgeschichtliche Studie. Leipzig, 1874.
Sickinger, C. Das alte Zunftwesen und die moderne Gewerbefreiheit. Kirchheim, 1875.
Berliner, Adf. Die Lage d. deutschen Handwerkerstandes. Hannover, 1877.

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Contzen, H. Die sociale Frage, ihre Geschichte und ihre Bedeutung in der Gegenwart. 2nd edit. Berlin, 1872.

Dannenberg, J. F. H. Das deutsche Handwerk und die sociale Frage. Leipzig, 1872.

Jäger, Eug. Der moderne Socialismus: Karl Marx, die internationale Arbeiter-Association, Lassalle und die deutschen Socialisten. Berlin, 1873.

Schultze-Delitzsch. Die Genossenschaften in einzelnen Gewerbszweigen. Leipzig, 1873.

Schüren, N. Die Katheder-Socialisten. Berlin, 1873.

Schüren, N. Zur Lösung der sociale Frage. 2nd edit. Berlin, 1873.

Fröbel, Jul. Die Wirthschaft d. Menschengeschlechtes auf dem Standpunkte der Einheit idealer und realer Interessen. I. und II. Die Privatwirthschaft und die Volkswirthschaft. Berlin, 1874. III. Die Staatswirthschaft. Berlin, 1876.

Lassalle, Ferd. Zur Arbeiterfrage. 6th edit. Braunschweig, 1875.

Lassalle, Ferd. Arbeiterlesebuch. Braunschweig, 1873.

Lassalle, Ferd. Arbeiterprogramm. Braunschweig, 1874.

Pfeil, Graf L. v. Lösung der sociale Frage. Breslau, 1874.

Dühring, E. Kritische Geschichte der National-Oekonomie und des Socialismus. 2nd edit. Berlin, 1875.

Goltz, Th. v. Das Wesen und die Bedeutung der deutschen Socialdemokratie. Leipzig, 1875.

Treitschke, H. Der Socialismus und seine Gönner. Berlin, 1875.

Treitschke, der Socialistentödter, u. d. Endziele des Liberalismus: eine socialist. Replik. Leipzig, 1875.

Diest-Daber, Otto v. Geldmacht und Socialismus. Berlin, 1875.

Rodbertus-Jagetzow. Zur Beleuchtung der sociale Frage. Berlin, 1875.

Schuster, R. Die Socialdemokratie nach ihrem Wesen und ihrer Agitation quellenmässig dargestellt. 2nd edit. Stuttgart, 1876.

Calberla, G. M. Sozialwissenschaftliches. 1. Hft. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," u. der heutige Sozialismus. Kritik einiger ihres Fundamentalsätze. Dresden, 1877.

Hitze, Fr. Die sociale Frage und die Bestrebungen zu ihrer Lösung. Paderborn, 1877.

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Schäffle, A. Die Quintessenz des Sozialismus. 3rd edit. Gotha, 1878.

Kritik der "Quintessenz des Sozialismus" von Schäffle, von einem praktischen Staatsmann. Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1878.

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Math. Quad von Kinckelbach. Teutscher Nation. Herrlichkeit. Kölln, 1609.

Des Bauernstands und Wandels entdeckte Uebelsitten und Lasterproben. Osnabrück, 1713.

Hüllmann, K. D. Städtewesen des Mittelalters. Bonn, 1826.

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Gagern, H. Ch. E. v. Die Resultate der Sittengeschichte. 6 vols. I. Die Fürsten; II. Aristokratie; III. Demokratie; IV. Politik; V. VI. Freundschaft und Liebe Stuttgart, 1822–37.

Rauschnick. Das Bürgerthum und Städtewesen der Deutschen im Mittelalter. Dresden, 1829.

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Nork, F. Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Deutschen und ihrer Nachbarvölker. Stuttgart, 1849.

Riehl, H. Culturstudien aus drei Jahrhunderten. Stuttgart, 1859.

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Kriegk, G. F. Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter. Frankfurt, 1868–71.

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